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## Selections.

### THE POOR WHITES OF THE SOUTH.

"Be the sin, the dangers and evils of slavery all our own. We compel, we ask, none to share them with us."
[Letters of Gov. Hammond, of S. C., to Thomas Clarkson.

*To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.*

SIR: The number of slaveholders in the slave States of this Union, as ascertained by the census returns of 1850, was three hundred and forty-seven thousand five hundred and twenty-five. An average of five persons and seven-tenths to a family, as assumed by the Superintendent of the census, would give 1,980,893 as the number of persons interested as slaveholders in their own right, or by family relation. The whole number of whites in the slaveholding States being 6,222,418, the slaveholding proportion is a fraction short of 32 per cent.

The Superintendent of the census, Professor De Bow, says of the number, 347,525, returned as slaveholders:

"*The number includes slavehirers, but is exclusive of those who are interested conjointly with others in slave property. The two will about balance each other, for the whole South, and leave the slaveowners as stated.*

"*Where the party owns slaves in different Counties, or in different States, he will be entered more than once. This will disturb the calculation very little, being only the case among the larger properties.*"

The addition of those who are "slavehirers" merely to the category of slaveowners must, I think, swell their number much more than it is diminished by the exclusion of "those who are interested conjointly with others in slave property." Such instances of conjoint interest will occur most frequently in the family relations, already taken into the account, when we multiplied the number of slaveholders returned by five and seven-tenths. A comparison of the returns from Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Virginia, where slavehiring is much practised, with Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, where it is less practised, shows the following results:

Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia, with 566,583 slaves, return 72,584 slaveowners. Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, with 897,531 slaves, return 73,081 slaveowners. The relative excess of slaveowners returned in Virginia, Maryland and the District of Columbia, must be attributed, in part, to the inclusion of a relatively larger number of "slavehirers." Upon the whole, it may safely be concluded that at least seven-tenths of the whites in the slave States are not slaveowners, either in their own right or by family relation. The number of white males in the slave States, aged twenty-one years and upward, in 1850, was 1,490,892.

Considering that the number of 347,525, returned as slaveowners, is subject to some deductions, and considering that of the slaveowners many are females and minors, it is probable that not exceeding one-fifth of the white male adults of the slave States own slaves.

The non-slaveholding whites of the South, being not less than seven-tenths of the whole number of whites, would seem to be entitled to some inquiry into their actual condition; and especially as they have no real political weight or consideration in the country, and little opportunity to speak for themselves. I have been for twenty years a reader of Southern newspapers, and a reader and hearer of Congressional debates; but in all that time, I do not recollect ever to have seen or heard these non-slaveholding whites referred to by Southern gentlemen, as constituting any part of what they call "*the South.*" When the rights of the South, or its policy, or its interests, or its institutions are spoken of, reference is always intended to the rights, wrongs, policy, interests and institutions of the three hundred and forty-seven thousand slaveholders. Nobody gets into Congress from the South but by their direction; nobody speaks at Washington for any Southern interest except theirs. Yet there is, at the South, quite another interest than theirs; embracing from two to three times as many white people; and, as we shall presently see, entitled to the deepest sympathy and commiseration, in view of the material, intellectual and moral privations to which it has been subjected, the degradation to which it has already been reduced, and the still more fearful degradation with which it is threatened by the inevitable operation of existing causes and influences.

From a paper on "Domestic Manufactures in the South and West," published by M. Tarver, of Missouri, in 1847, I make the following extracts:

"The free population of the South may be divided into two classes—the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder. I am not aware that the relative numbers of these two classes have ever been ascertained in any of the States; but I am satisfied that the non-slaveholders far outnumber the slaveholders—perhaps by three to one. In the more southern portion of this region, the non-slaveholders possess, generally, but very small means, and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation; and the more fertile soil, being in the possession of the slaveholder, must ever remain out of the power of those who have none.

"This state of things is a great drawback, and bears heavily upon and depresses the moral energies of the poorer classes. * * The acquisition of a respectable position in the scale of wealth appears so difficult that they decline the hopeless pursuit, and many of them settle down into habits of idleness and become the almost passive subjects of all its consequences. And I lament to say that I have observed of late years that an evident deterioration is taking place in this part of the population, the younger portion of it being less educated, less industrious, and in every point of view less respectable than their ancestors. * * It is, in an eminent degree, the interest of the slaveholder that a way to wealth and respectability should be opened to this part of the population, and that encouragement should be given to enterprise and industry; and what would be more likely to afford this encouragement than the introduction of manufactures? * * * To the slaveholding class of the population of the South-West, the introduction of manufactures is not less interesting than to the non-slaveholding class. The former possess almost all the wealth of the country. The preservation of this wealth is a subject of the highest consideration to those who possess it."

This picture is distressing and discouraging; distressing in that it exhibits three-fourths of the whites of the South substantially destitute of property, driven upon soils so sterile that only a scanty subsistence is obtainable from them, depressed in moral energies, finding the pathway to respectability so difficult that they decline the hopeless pursuit, ceasing to struggle, and becoming the almost passive subjects of the consequences of idleness; discouraging in that it exhibits this great bulk of the white population growing worse instead of better, evidently deteriorating, and its younger portion less educated, less industrious, and in every point of view less respectable than their ancestors.

In the January number, of 1850, of *De Bow's Review*, is an article on "*Manufactures in South Carolina,*" by J. H. Taylor, of Charleston (S. C.), from which I make the following extracts:

"There is in some quarters a natural jealousy of the slightest innovation upon established habits; and because an effort has been made to collect the poor and unemployed white population into our new factories, fears have arisen that some evil would grow out of the introduction of such establishments among us.

"Let us, however, look at this matter with candour and calmness, and examine all its bearings before we determine that the introduction of a profitable industry will endanger our institutions. * * * * The poor man has a vote as well as the rich man, and in our State the number of the former will largely overbalance the latter. So long as these poor but industrious people could see no mode of living except by a degrading operation of work with the negro upon the plantation, they were content to endure life in its most discouraging forms, satisfied they were *above* the slave, though faring often worse than he. But the progress of the world is '*onward*,' and though in some sections it is slow, still it is '*onward*,' and the great mass of our poor white population begin to understand that they have rights, and that they, too, are entitled to some of the sympathy which falls upon the suffering. They are fast learning that there is an almost infinite world of industry opening before them by which they can elevate themselves and their families from wretchedness and ignorance to competence and intelligence. *It is this great upheaving of our masses that we have to fear, so far as our institutions are concerned* * * *

"The employment of the white labour which is now to a great extent contending with absolute want will enable this part of our population to surround themselves with comforts which poverty now places beyond their reach. The active industry of a father, the careful housewifery of the mother, and the daily cash earnings of four or five children, will very soon enable each family to own a servant; thus increasing the demand for this species of property to an immense extent. * * *

"The question has often been asked, Will Southern operatives equal Northern in their ability to accomplish factory work? As a general answer, I should reply in the affirmative; but at the same time it may with justice be said they cannot at present, even in our best factories, accomplish as much as is usual in Northern mills. The habitude of our people has been to anything but close application to manual labour, and it requires *time* to bring the whole habits of a person into a new train."

The italicising in these extracts is Mr. Taylor's, and not mine.

Mr. Taylor expresses himself in a very confused and inartificial way, but it is not difficult to understand what he means. He is addressing himself to the slaveholding aristocracy, and he describes these poor whites very much as a French philosopher would describe the *blouses* of the Faubourg St. Antoine to polite ears in the Faubourg St. Germain. The collection into towns of the poor and unemployed white population of South Carolina had evidently given rise to some visions of social outbreak and anarchy, which Mr. Taylor feels called upon to dispel. These poor people, who were willing to be industrious if they had the opportunity to be so, but to whom no labour was offered except in degrading connection with plantation negroes, had been content to struggle on, enduring life in its most discouraging forms, contending with absolute want, and often faring worse than the negro, but yet solaced by the satisfaction that they were above the negro in some respects. But at length light was beginning to penetrate even into South Carolina, and these unhappy beings were catching a glimpse of the truth, that even they, in their depths of poverty and humiliation, had some rights and were entitled to some of the sympathy which falls upon the suffering. They were fast learning that there existed, in happier communities, modes of industry, which, if opened to them, would elevate them and their families from wretchedness and ignorance to competence and intelligence. This knowledge might occasion an upheaving of the masses, seriously threatening the social and domestic institutions of South Carolina unless properly directed. If, on the contrary, these poor whites could be furnished with remunerating labour, they would place themselves in a position of comfort, and even become slaveholders themselves, thus increasing the demand for that sort of property and enhancing its security.

From an address upon the subject of manufactures in South Carolina, delivered in 1851, before the South Carolina Institute, by William Gregg, Esq., I make the following extracts:

"In all other countries, and particularly manufacturing States, labour and capital are assuming an antagonistical position. Here it cannot be the case; capital will be able to control labour, even in manufactures with whites, for blacks can always be resorted to in case of need. * * * From the best estimates that I have been able to make, I put down the white people who ought to work and who do not, or who are so employed as to be wholly unproductive to the State, at one hundred and twenty-five thousand. * * * By this it appears that but one-fifth of the present poor whites of our State would be necessary to operate 1,000,000 spindles. * * The appropriation annually made by our Legislature for our School Fund, every one must be aware, so far as the country is concerned, has been little better than a waste of money. * * * While we are aware that the Northern and Eastern States find no difficulty in educating their poor, we are ready to despair of success in the matter, for even penal laws against the neglect of education would fail to bring many of our country people to send their children to school. * * I have long been under the impression, and every day's experience has strengthened my convictions, that the evils exist in the wholly neglected condition of this class of persons. Any man who is an observer of things could hardly pass through our country without being struck by the fact that all the capital, enterprise and intelligence is employed in directing slave labour; and the consequence is, that a large portion of our poor white people are wholly neglected, and are suffered to while away an existence in a state but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest. It is an evil of vast magnitude, and nothing but a change in public sentiment will effect its cure. These people must be brought into daily contact with the rich and intelligent—they must be stimulated to mental action, and taught to appreciate education and the comforts of civilized life; and this, we believe, may be effected only by the introduction of manufactures. * * * My experience at Graniteville has satisfied me that, unless our poor people can be brought together in villages, and some means of employment afforded them, it will be an utterly hopeless effort to undertake to educate them. * * We have collected at that place about 800 people, and as likely looking a set of country girls as may be found—industrious and orderly people, but deplorably ignorant, three-fourths of the adults not being able to read or to write their names * * With the aid of ministers of the Gospel on the spot to preach to them and lecture them on the subject, we have obtained but about 60 children for our school, of about a hundred which are in the place. We are satisfied that nothing but time and patience will enable us to bring them all out. * * * It is very clear to me that the only means of educating and Christianizing our poor whites will be to bring them into such villages, where they will not only become intelligent, but a thrifty and useful class in our community. * * * Notwithstanding our rule that no one can be permitted to occupy our houses who does not send all his children to school that are between the ages of 6 and 12, it was with some difficulty, at first, that we could make up even a small school."

It is noticeable that Mr. Gregg, like Mr. Taylor, begins by an attempt to allay patrician jealousies excited by the idea of collecting the poor whites into masses. Mr. Gregg points out that the existence of slavery enables capital to control white labour as well as black, by the power which it retains to substitute the latter, when the former becomes unruly.

The whole white population of South Carolina, by the census of 1850, being only 274,563, nearly one-half, according to Mr. Gregg's estimate, are substantially idle and unproductive, and would seem to have sunk into a condition but little removed from barbarism. All the capital, enterprise and intelligence of the State being employed in directing slave labour, these poor whites, wholly neglected, whiling away an existence but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest, never taught to appreciate education and the comforts of civilized life, deplorably ignorant, and induced with great difficulty, and only by slow degrees, to send their children to schools, do truly constitute "*an evil of vast magnitude,*" and call loudly for some means of "*educating* and *Christianizing*" them.

Gov. Hammond, in an address before the South Carolina Institute, in 1850, describes these poor whites as follows:

"They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and too often by what is in its effects far worse—trading with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit."

Elsewhere Mr. Gregg speaks as follows:

"It is only necessary to build a manufacturing village of shanties, in a healthy location, in any part of the State, to have crowds of these people around you, seeking employment at half the compensation given to operatives at the North. It is indeed painful to be brought in contact with such ignorance and degradation."

Is it really true that South Carolina means to dissolve this Union if she cannot be permitted to extend further institutions under which one-fifth of her people are savages, while another three-fifths are slaves?

In a paper published in 1852, upon the "*Industrial regeneration of the South,*" advocating manufactures, the Hon. J. H. Lumpkin, of Georgia, says:

"It is objected that these manufacturing establishments will become the hot-beds of crime. * * But I am by no means ready to concede that our poor, degraded, half-fed, half-clothed and ignorant population—without Sabbath-schools, or any other kind of instruction, mental or moral, or without any just appreciation of character—will be injured by giving them employment, which will bring them under the oversight of employers, who will inspire them with self-respect by taking an interest in their welfare."

Georgia, it seems, like South Carolina, and under the influence of the same great cause, has her poor whites degraded, half-fed, half-clothed, without mental or moral instruction, and destitute of self-respect and of any just appreciation of character. Is it really true that Georgia means to dissolve this Union if she cannot be permitted to blast this fair continent with such a population as this?

A paper upon *Cotton and Cotton Manufactures at the South*, by Mr. Charles T. James (United States Senator), of Rhode Island, which I find in De Bow's *Industrial Resources of the South and West*, contains statements similar, in substance, to those of Messrs. Taylor, Gregg and Lumpkin. Mr. James's pursuits have made him acquainted with the condition of manufactures in all sections of the country, and his essays are written in a spirit of candour, and even kindness, to the South, as their publication by De Bow sufficiently proves. Mr. James says:

"This is a subject on which, though it demands attention, we should speak with delicacy. It is not to be disguised, nor can it be successfully controverted, that a degree and extent of poverty and destitution exist in the Southern States, among a certain class of people, almost unknown in the manufacturing districts of the North. The poor white man will endure the evils of pinching poverty rather than engage in servile labour under the existing state of things, even were employment offered him, which is not general. The white female is not wanted at service, and, if she were, she would, however humble in the scale of society, consider such service a degree of degradation to which she could not condescend; and she has, therefore, no resource but to suffer the pangs of want and wretchedness. Boys and girls, by thousands, destitute both of employment and the means of education, grow up to ignorance and poverty, and too many of them to vice and crime. . . The writer knows, from personal acquaintance and observation, that poor Southern persons, male and female, are glad to avail themselves of individual efforts to procure a comfortable livelihood in any employment deemed respectable for white persons. They make applications to cotton mills where such persons are wanted, in numbers much beyond the demand for labour; and, when admitted there, they soon assume the industrious habits and decency in dress and manners of the operatives in Northern factories. A demand for labour in such establishments is all that is necessary to raise this class from want and beggary, and (too frequently) moral degradation, to a state of comfort, comparative independence and moral and social respectability. Beside this, thousands of such would naturally come together as residents in manufacturing villages, where, with very little trouble and expense, they might receive a common school education, instead of growing up in profound ignorance."

These remarks of Mr. James are quoted and indorsed in an article upon the *Establishment of Manufactures of New Orleans*, which I find in De Bow's Review for January, 1850. The writer, whose name is not given, but who appears to be a citizen of New Orleans, says:

"At present, the sources of employment open to females (save in menial offices) are very limited; and an inability to procure suitable occupation is an evil much to be deplored, as tending in its consequences to produce demoralization.

"The superior grades of female labour may be considered such as imply a necessity for education on the part of the *employee*, while the menial class is generally regarded as of the lowest; and in a slave State, this standard is 'in the lowest depths, a lower deep,' from the fact that, by association, it is a reduction of the white servant to the level of their coloured fellow-menials."

The complaint of low wages and want of employment comes from every part of the South.

Mr. Steadman, of Tennessee, in a paper upon the *Extension of cotton and wool factories at the South*, says:

"In Lowell, labour is paid the fair compensation of 80 cents a day for men, and $2 a week for women, besides board, while in Tennessee the average compensation for labour does not exceed 50 cents per day for men, and $1 25 per week for women. Such is the wisdom of a wise division of labour."

In a speech made in Congress, five or six years since, Mr. T. L. Clingman, of North Carolina, said:

"Our manufacturing establishments can obtain the raw material (cotton) at nearly two cents on the pound cheaper than the New England establishments. Labour is likewise one hundred per cent. cheaper. In the upper parts of the State, the labour of either a free man or a slave, including board, clothing, &c., can be obtained for from $110 to $120 per annum. It will cost at least twice that sum in New England. The difference in the cost of female labour, whether free or slave, is even greater. As we have now a population of nearly one million, we might advance to a great extent in manufacturing, before we materially increased the wages of labour."

A Richmond (Va.) newspaper, *The Dispatch*, says:

"We will only suppose that the ready-made shoes imported into this city from the North and sold here were manufactured in Richmond. What a great addition it would be to the means of employment! How many boys and females would find means of earning their bread who are now suffering for a regular supply of the necessaries of life!"

The following statistics from the Census of 1850 show the number of whites (excluding foreign-born) in certain States, and the number of white persons, excluding foreign-born, in such States, over twenty years of age, unable to read and write:

| States. | Whites. | Unable to read and write. |
|---|---|---|
| New England States | 2,399,661 | 6,209 |
| New York | 2,393,101 | 23,240 |
| Alabama | 419,016 | 33,618 |
| Arkansas | 160,721 | 16,792 |
| Kentucky | 730,012 | 64,340 |
| Missouri | 515,434 | 34,420 |
| Virginia | 871,847 | 75,868 |
| North Carolina | 550,463 | 73,226 |
| South Carolina | 266,055 | 15,580 |
| Georgia | 515,120 | 40,794 |
| Tennessee | 751,198 | 77,017 |

The evils which afflict the slave States are various and complicated; but they all originate with, or are aggravated by, that fatal institution which Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and all the great men of the South of the Revolutionary epoch, deplored, but which the madness of modern times hugs as a blessing.

The wages of labour are always low in countries exclusively agricultural. Industry begins to be fairly rewarded when it is united with skill, when employments are properly divided, and when the general average of education and intelligence is raised by the facilities afforded by density of population. The grain-growing regions of Eastern Europe are tilled by serfs; it is only in Western Europe that we find industry enjoying any tolerable measure of competence, intelligence and respectability. Agricultural countries are comparatively poor, and manufacturing and commercial countries are comparatively rich; because rude labour, even upon rich soils, is less productive than skilled labour, aided by machinery and accumulated capital. That the South is almost exclusively agricultural, results, especially in the more northerly slave States (which have admirable natural facilities for mining and manufacturing), from the institution of slavery, under which there cannot be in the organization of society that middle class, which, in free States, is the nursery of intelligent and enterprising industry.

The whites at the South not connected with the ownership or management of slaves, constituting not far from three-fourths of the whole number of whites, confined at best to the low wages of agricultural labour, and partially cut off even from this by the degradation of a companionship with black slaves, retire to the outskirts of civilization, where they lead a semi-savage life, sinking deeper and more hopelessly into barbarism with each succeeding generation. The slaveowner takes at first all the best land, and finally all the land susceptible of regular cultivation; and the poor whites, thrown back upon the hills and upon the sterile soils—mere squatters, without energy enough to acquire title to the cheap lands they occupy, without roads, without schools, and at length without even a desire for education, become the miserable beings described to us by the writers whom I have quoted. In Virginia and all the old slave States, immense tracts belonging to private owners, or abandoned for taxes, and in the South-West, immense tracts belonging to the Government of the United States, are occupied in this way. Southern agriculture, rude and wasteful to the last degree, is not fitted to grapple with difficulties. It seizes upon rich soils and flourishes only while it is exhausting them. It knows how to raise cotton and corn, but has no flexibility, no power of adaptation to circumstances, no inventiveness. The poor white, if he cannot find bottoms whereon to raise grain, becomes a hunter upon the hills which might enrich him with flocks and herds.

In the first settlement of the new and rich soils of the South-West, these evils were less apparent; but the downward progress is rapid and certain. First the farmer without slaves, and then the small planter, succumbs to this conquering desolation. How feelingly it is depicted in the following extract from an Address delivered a few weeks since by the Hon. C. C. Clay, Jr., of Alabama:

"I can show you, with sorrow, in the older portions of Alabama, and in my native County of Madison, the sad memorials of the artless and exhausting culture of cotton. Our small planters, after taking the cream off their lands, unable to restore them by rest, manures, or otherwise, are going further West and South, in search of other virgin lands, which they may and will despoil and impoverish in like manner. Our wealthier planters, with greater means and no more skill, are buying out their poorer neighbours, extending their plantations, and adding to their slave force. The wealthy few, who are able to live on smaller profits and to give their blasted fields some rest, are thus pushing off the many who are merely independent. Of the $20,000,000 annually realized from the sales of the cotton crop of Alabama, nearly all not expended in supporting the producers is reinvested in land and negroes. Thus the white population has decreased and the slave increased almost *pari passu* in several Counties of our State. In 1825, Madison County cast about 3,000 votes; now she cannot cast exceeding 2,300. In traversing that County, one will discover numerous farm-houses, once the abode of industrious and intelligent freemen, now occupied by slaves, or tenantless, deserted and dilapidated; he will observe fields, once fertile, now unfenced, abandoned and covered with those evil harbingers, fox-tail and broomsedge; he will see the moss growing on the mouldering walls of once thrifty villages, and will find 'one only master grasps the whole domain' that once furnished homes for a dozen white families. Indeed, a country in its infancy, where fifty years ago scarce a forest tree had been felled by the axe of the pioneer, is already exhibiting the painful signs of senility and decay, apparent in Virginia and the Carolinas."

It is undoubtedly true that the condition of the South would be vastly ameliorated if its pursuits were more diversified, if its great facilities for mining and manufacturing were improved, and if its wasteful systems of agriculture were changed. The profits of capital would be raised, and the productiveness of labour would be enhanced. To a certain extent, perhaps, the free labourer might be benefited by the greater employment and higher wages which would result; but the same fatal, overshadowing evil which has driven him from the field would drive him from the workshop and the factory. *Hæret in latere lethalis arundo.* Even Mr. Gregg, from whom I have quoted above, says that "*all overseers, who have experience in the matter, give the decided preference to blacks as operatives.*" Mr. Montgomery, in his treatise on the "*Cotton manufactures of the United States Compared with Great Britain,*" states that "*there are several cotton factories in Tennessee operated entirely by slave labour, there not being a white man in the mill but the superintendent.*" The employment of slaves is common everywhere at the South, in factories and mining. The author of "*The Future of the South*" (De Bow's Review, vol. 10, page 146) says that "*the blacks are equally serviceable in factories as in fields.*"

A writer in *The Mississippian* says:

"Will not our slaves make tanners? And can they not, when supplied with materials, make peg and other shoes? Cannot our slaves make ploughs and harrows, &c.? The New England States cannot make and send us brick and framed houses, and therefore we have learned that our slaves can make and lay bricks and perform the work of house-joiners and carpenters. In fact, we know that in mechanical pursuits and manufacturing cotton and woollen goods they are fine labourers."

The statesman like Gov. Hammond, looking at the matter from a statesman's point of view, may recommend, as he does, the employment of poor whites in factories, as being, upon the whole, although immediately less cheap, more for the general good of the community. Men are not governed in matters of business by any such consideration as this. If slave labour is adapted to factories, as it would seem to be, and is cheaper than white labour, as it would also seem to be, it will be employed, be the consequences to the community ever so disastrous. And where it is employed at all, it will be employed exclusively, as in the Tennessee factories, from the insuperable repugnance of whites to labour side by side and on an equality with black slaves.

The difficulty in the case is invincible. The property-holders of the South own a vigorous and serviceable body of black labourers, who can be fed for $20 per annum and clothed for $10 per annum; who can be kept industrious and preserved from debilitating vices by coercion, by no means inapt in the simpler arts, naturally docile, and, under any tolerable treatment, "fat and sleek"; such is the terrible, the overwhelming, the irresistible competition to which the non-property-holding three-quarters of the whites at the South are subjected, when they come into the market with their labour.

It is not wonderful that they seek escape from the nightmare which broods over them, and fly by thousands to the refuge of the free States. The census of 1850 found 609,371 persons living in the free States who were born in the slave States, while only 206,638 persons born in the free States were living in the slave States. The number of emigrants from free to slave States, and from slave to free States, living in 1850, have been carefully collected from Table CXX, found on the 116th page of the Compendium of the Census of 1850. That Table gives the nativity of the "*white and free coloured population,*" without distinguishing the two classes; but the "*free coloured population*" is too small and its movement too slight to affect the substantial accuracy of the calculation. On the 115th page of this Compendium is found the following statement:

"*There are now 726,450 persons living in the slaveholding States who are natives of non-slaveholding States, and 232,112 persons living in non-slaveholding States who are natives of slaveholding States.*"

This is a manifest error, and I supposed at first that there was a transposition of the numbers, but, upon calculation, find the true numbers to be as given in the text. It is to be observed that the white population of the free States is double that of the slave States, so that the per centage of Southern whites moving North is six times greater than that of Northern whites moving South.

It is to be observed also, in reference to what little emigration there is from the free to the slave States, that it results from the fact that the domestic institutions of the latter do not encourage the development of mercantile enterprise, mechanical skill and general business capacity, and that the deficiency in those respects is necessarily supplied from abroad. Of *mere labour*, there is absolutely no movement from the free to the slave States.

Of the persons who have emigrated from the border slave States, and who were living in other States in 1850, the following table will show the numbers living in free and slave States respectively:

| Emigrated from | Living in free States. | Living in slave States. |
|---|---|---|
| Delaware | 25,182 | 6,739 |
| Maryland | 86,004 | 41,627 |
| Virginia | 182,424 | 204,961 |
| Kentucky | 148,680 | 107,844 |
| Missouri | 20,244 | 14,682 |
| Total | 462,534 | 375,853 |

If from 838,387, the entire number of emigrants from these States, we deduct one-fourth part, assumed to be holders of slaves, and therefore compelled to select their residence in slave States, we have left 628,790 as the number of emigrants not holders of slaves, and therefore at liberty to select their residence in free or slave States, as they might think best. Of this number 462,534, or a fraction short of seventy-four per cent., selected the free States.

Of the persons who have emigrated from the border free States, and who were living in other States in 1850, the following table will show the numbers living in free and slave States, respectively:

| Emigrated from | Living in free States. | Living in slave states. |
|---|---|---|
| New Jersey | 114,511 | 18,418 |
| Pennsylvania | 366,317 | 53,360 |
| Ohio | 259,938 | 23,770 |
| Indiana | 66,141 | 24,786 |
| Illinois | 22,707 | 20,653 |
| Iowa | 3,357 | 1,757 |
| Total | 832,971 | 152,644 |

Of the emigration from the border States, it is to be observed that its direction, whether to free or to slave States, is less controlled by the consideration of climate than is the direction of the emigration from the extreme North or the extreme South.

The following table shows the number of persons living in 1850 in Illinois, Indiana and Missouri, who emigrated from the slave States, excluding the border States, and excluding Arkansas, which is adjacent to Missouri:

| Emigrated from | Emigrated to Illinois and Indiana. | Emigrated to Missouri. |
|---|---|---|
| North Carolina | 47,026 | 17,009 |
| South Carolina | 8,231 | 2,919 |
| Georgia | 2,102 | 1,254 |
| Tennessee | 45,037 | 44,970 |
| Alabama | 1,730 | 2,067 |
| Mississippi | 777 | 638 |
| Louisiana | 701 | 746 |
| Texas | 107 | 249 |
| Florida | 44 | 67 |
| Total | 105,755 | 69,918 |

Here is an emigration involving considerable journies, and not controlled by the consideration of immediate proximity. It is an emigration to States very similar in location, position and physical characteristics. Such differences as do exist, however, in climate and productions, would incline the Southern emigrant to Missouri. Yet we find three-fifths of these emigrants placing themselves voluntarily under the operation of the Ordinance of 1787. It is a fair inference, and it is true, that the real wishes as well as real interests of a majority of the whites of the South are in opposition to the extension of slavery; but it is only the minority of slaveholders which is represented in Congress, or which has otherwise any political weight in the country.

It is unquestionable that the immigration from the South has brought into the free States more ignorance, poverty and thriftlessness than an equal amount of the immigration from Europe. Where it forms a marked feature of the population, as in Southern Illinois, a long time must elapse before it is brought up to the general standard of intelligence and enterprise in the free States. This remark is made in no spirit of unkindness. The whites of the South are nearly all of the Revolutionary stock. They are a fine, manly race. Their valour, attested upon a hundred battle-fields, shone untarnished and still resplendent in the last conflict of the Republic. No banner floated more defiantly amid the smoke and fire of the Valley of Mexico than that up-borne by the inextinguishable gallantry of the sons of South Carolina. I feel for that unhappy people all the ties of kith and kin. God forbid that any avenue should be closed by which they may escape out of the horrible pit of their bondage. If the Constitution permits the South to recapture their fugitive blacks, happily it does not permit them to recapture their fugitive whites.

It is said that no equal number of negroes were ever so well off, upon the whole, as the slaves of the South, and that in contrast with their native barbarism, their present lot, hard as it is, is one of improvement and comparative advancement. Even if this be true—even if three millions and a half of people of African blood have been raised in the scale of civilization—the price paid for it is too costly. An equal number of people of the Caucasian stock have been deprived of all that constitutes civilization, and thrust down into barbarism, thus reversing the order of Providence, and sacrificing the superior to the inferior race.

It is said that an extension of the area slavery would add to the personal comfort of the slaves, at least for a considerable period of time. Even if this be so, our first and highest duty is to our own race, and it will be a most flagrant and inexcusible folly to permit such a sacrifice of it as we now witness in the Southern States to be enacted over again upon the vast areas of the West. Where the two races actually coexist, the relation which may best subsist between them may afford fair matter for dispute; but it is against the clear and manifest dictates of common sense, voluntarily, willingly and with our eyes open, to subject the white man to a companionship which, under any relation, is an incumbrance and a curse.

It is for the intelligent self-interest, the Christian philanthropy of the people of this great country, with all the lights of the past and present blazing with such effulgent brightness that none but the judicially blinded can fail to see, to determine whether the system of black slavery shall inflict upon regions now fair and virgin from the hands of the Creator its train of woes, which no man can number, which no eloquence can exaggerate, and of which no invective can heighten the hideous reality. It is for the people of this great country to determine whether the further spread of a system, of which the worst fruits are not seen in wasted resources and in impoverished fields, but in a neglected and outcast people, shall be left to the accidents of latitude, of proximity, of border violence, or of the doubtful assent of embryo communities; or whether, on the other hand, it shall be stayed by an interdiction, as universal as the superiority of Good to Evil, as perpetual as the rightful authority of reason in the affairs of men, and as resistless as the embodied will of the nation.

GEO. M. WESTON.

February 1, 1856.

### ANOTHER NEGRO-BURNING.

A CORRESPONDENT of the New Orleans *Picayune*, writing from Jackson, Miss., Dec. 25, says:

"I have just received the particulars of a most horrid affair just transpired at Lexington, in this State. A daughter of a very worthy gentleman (whose name I forbear to make public), while riding on horseback to visit a neighbour, was assaulted by a negro man, who made the most hellish attempt to violate her person. She struggled in his demoniac grasp until her strength was exhausted, until she was sadly bruised and lacerated, and the fiend was in the act of accomplishing his purpose as a gentleman came in sight. The negro fled, and the gentleman carried the almost inanimate girl to her father's house. After depositing her there, he raised the alarm and the people hurried out to hunt the negro. They were not long in finding him. He belonged to the Wade estate. They brought him into the town of Lexington, and then, in the most public street, chained him to a stake and burnt him alive! This was a summary proceeding, but hanging was too easy a death for such a fiend. It is thought the young lady will not survive her injuries, and it is rather to be hoped that she may not, for her life has been accursed and forever embittered."

*From The National Era.*

### A VIRGINIAN'S VIEW OF THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

DUTIES OF THE NORTH AND OF THE SOUTH.

#### A SERMON,

*Preached in the Unitarian Church, Washington City, D. C., January 26, 1856.*

BY REV. M. D. CONWAY, PASTOR.

FIRST PURE, THEN PEACEABLE.—*James*, III, 17.

IT is now eight weeks, and the Congress of these States, called, as if in bitter irony, *United*, is still unorganized. There is reason enough for the grave apprehension now pressing upon the mind of every patriot. Our young Hercules, just as his labours have arisen before him, and the nations looked on to see him strangle the Hydra here, and there unbar the flood of Reform toward manifold Augean stables, suddenly becomes paralyzed. Oh, son of Jove, last and strongest, what is this! whither has thy noble promise fled?

We meet here, my friends, on a common ground. Varied perceptions of the relations of that common ground to human welfare separate us into different parties. We are also of diverse sections. I do not think the pulpit should be used to assail any of these, as such. I, therefore, shall not permit myself a doubt, as I touch this most sensitive subject, that you will sympathize with me and with each other. I do so only because, in these troubled times, my heart burns to point you to the ancient landmarks of Right and Wrong, which, when seen, none can fail to acknowledge; for, like the objects of the ear and eye, they are their own evidence. I shall not make any partisan statement, for I belong to no party; but there is one phase of the present state of things which enters my pulpit, whether I will or not. This arc of the circle—not the arcs of the politician or economist—the pulpit cannot be true to itself without interpreting. And I am constrained to believe it a mathematical certainty that any arc of any circle, moral or geometric, being given, the others may be discovered and described, and the radii traced to their centre.

I shall waste no words on the dogma that such subjects are not proper to the pulpit. Christ and Paul found them appropriate to *their* ministry. If moral questions should not enter here, what should? And if questions involving the happiness of millions, and the good relations of section with section, and man with man, throughout the land, are not moral, what are?

It was the saddest day that ever dawned on the country when this was made any other than a moral question. In the day when it was made one of national political issue, the wind was sown; to-day, we reap the whirlwind. It is exclusively a moral question, as are all questions affecting humanity. It is not a question of North and South—those very terms should be banished as unhealthy here. How completely do we find moral perceptions obscured, when here, in the noon of the Nineteenth Century, on a question involving more entirely than any other the just relations of men toward each other and toward God, a great nation is *geographically* divided. Men with divine souls must be lumped with the clod whereon they tread, and certain principles and ideas considered as exclusively products of certain sections, as coffee or cotton. Given a man's longitude and latitude, and you may predict his views on slavery, and nearly everything else; as when you know the way the wind blows, you may announce with certainty the position of the nearest weather-vanes.

But in the present state of things, the political view hears its triumph of Doom. The old party watch-fires are but blackened earth and ashes: their lines have fallen in *un*pleasant places. A fearful disintegration has supervened the political mass. Let us hope by the working of a higher synthesis. Hitherto we have had ancestral compacts and the political representation of negroes canvassed. Men have spoken of what is "wise and expedient," rather than what is right. You need not that any one should show you how this political treatment has miserably failed, even in objects no higher than its own. Each party has come forward with its nostrum, declaring itself the original old Dr. Jacob Townsend, whose pills, and none others, were genuine: each was to bring repose to the distracted patient, and soothe irritation by profounder nationality. The inflammation has spread with every Administration until this; and with this, the very powers which enable inflammation to spread seem nearly death-still. I doubt not it would be so with the administration of any merely political party in the country. Let the people know, then, that this is the grand success of the *political* treatment of the slavery question—every wheel of the Government stilled!

In this state of things, it will not be the popular heart, but they who live by smothering that heart, who will withstand those who now, when all other methods fail, present THE ONE PATH, opened up before the country in the Christian Law, *First pure, then peaceable.* Every man knows how alone he gets peace. Priests may mumble over the souls of the departed, or beneath them, *Requiescat in pace*, but no soul ever rested in peace until it had entered it by the path of purity. And the greater is contained in the less; each atom obeys the laws of the sphere. Nations began with individuals, and are now but collections of them, and must obey the laws of individuals. With both, peace blossoms only on the stem of purity.

This, then, will save us from any national peril, *that the Conscience shall be enthroned everywhere Absolute Monarch.* It must be allowed untrammelled action, wherever in any man it prohibits slaveholding, and wherever in any man it does not. Only let men feel that they are living and voting at unity with their best light of duty, and they demand no more, but are at ease. When agitation is abroad, it is certain that the lash of Conscience has been loosened somewhere.

In order to secure this, we are called to mutual concession—to the concession of each moral sense to the other of all it claims—it being understood that nothing can be claimed by either for political advantage, but only from such a sense of the moral necessity of such a claim as shall never shrink from any results whatever, which are needed to secure it. If the two portions of the country cannot unite, and feel at the same moment ready to face the Eternal Judge, with the full conviction that they are each completely true to God and to every man, white and black, bond and free, on Earth, let them sink together beneath the waters under the Earth, but never, never unite, or remain united!

We are called the more to this concession, because the error has been with both sides, and is now. The men whose consciences were first stirred on this subject have dwelt on the inhumanity of slaveholders, without remembering to ask whether THEY *were not slaveholders.* For whatever the Federal Government sanctions or adopts is of course by complicity of all who are parties to that Federal compact. As the people of Virginia did not derive their power to hold slaves from the Union, and do not now, of course none of the rest of the States, or of the individuals of the States, are involved in it. They are, indeed, in a high sense, *concerned* in all that concerns their fellow-men; but not otherwise are they morally involved, than as they are in widow-burning in Hindostan, or cannibalism in the Fejee Islands. Do we, as Americans, take upon our consciences the sins, as we may think them, of Great Britain or Japan, because we have treaties with those nations? Do England and France become responsible for one another's policy, or assume each other's National Church, because, for a different object, they have formed an alliance? The United States are but such an alliance. And, as England and France have only a common responsibility for what is done in the war with Russia, so have the people of the free States only a responsibility for what is done by the Federal Union as such. So we can only look upon the position of the class of anti-slavery men whose motto is "*No union with slaveholders*" as a blunder, occasioned by their not having union with their real duty. Had they worked by the Christian principle, "First cast the beam out of thine own eye, and so see clearly to cast the mote out of thy brother's"; had they not wasted their energies on slavery in the South, but concentrated them on slavery in the North, they would have put in a demand which, so surely as God made man alike in Maine and California, would have received the approval of every sincere soul from Maine to California.

This blunder has had its antithetical one in the South. And here, I may say, we must guard against our prejudices. As a Virginian, with no tie of relationship northward, of the remotest kind, past or present, I feel how easily I might slide into a justification of my dear mother, the South. But the soul knows no prejudices or sections, and must see all under the pure light of reason and conscience.

The first error of the South has been an impatience in the discussion of this question, reminding calm men of those unfortunate persons met with in lunatic asylums, who speak rationally on all the topics until you touch that on which they are deranged, when their insanity bursts wildly forth. This has caused them to put themselves in an attitude before the world which has brought down its severest censure; and, feeling that this was not just what they deserved—since they were at least sincere—it has led them on to a still great greater rage against a judgment which, however unfair, was the result of their own mistaken heat. It has precluded freedom of discussion even among themselves; a policy which no human brain or heart ever respected yet. The native sons of the South have again and again sought to discuss it in their own vicinities, and have as often been threatened and visited with angry processes, though the privilege is secured them in the Bill of Rights of nearly every Southern State. The South has thus lost the confidence of many of her own children, who find that a freedom exercised by their lordly ancestors, Washington, Jefferson, Henry, and by them transmitted as an eternal inheritance, is now denied them by men who, beside those, are lilliputian. Those who deny that the full sunlight should play above and beneath and around any subject, can never convince any disinterested person that they are in the right. This was true before Jesus said, "Whoso doeth right cometh to the light," and it has been true ever since, and will be true to all eternity. What would men, including the South, say to Christ's getting into a passion with an antagonist, or Plato's refusing to hear the other side in an argument?

Blunder is of a prickly-pear growth, one leaf developed from another. This impossibility of free speech in the South has preserved a Code of Slavery which is far beneath her moral sense, but which cannot become a dead letter so long as there are wicked and selfish men in the world. As an evidence of this, it is a familiar fact that the wretched men termed "Negro-drivers" are held, with their families, in scorn by all classes of society in the South; yet no business is more entirely legal.

How is the Code to be reformed, if it is a crime to broach the subject? Take any Southern man, and ask him if he believes that these blacks should be so completely in the possession of the whites that there should be no security to the marital relation; that one man should have the power, if he wills, to separate the families he owns to any extent? Ask him if he believes that immortal beings should be reared in brutal ignorance? (And those who do otherwise break the laws. How sadly suggestive is the fact that the only other people who forbid education to any are the Yezeddis of Mesopotamia, who are the only race of Devil-worshippers!) A Southern man will reply, NO.

And yet these laws remain there, trained by Southerners who are *not* men, to bear the cruellest fruits; such as have aroused the open indignation of the world, and the secret indignation of thousands of Southern hearts, and shall continue it, until human souls, North and South, are fatherless, and no divine instincts of justice and pity flow out from God's heart.

Thus both sides, by their own premises, need internal reform. But our reference now is to the great moral responsibility pressing on each, and growing out of our being one people. I would the pressure were heavier! In this country, where, by the very nature of the representative system, all action and influence of the General Government—involving as they do the happiness or misery, elevation or degradation, of men, women and children, everywhere—are shared by every tax-payer and voter, the moral responsibility resting on each man is tremendous. What abject cant is it to say, *The North has nothing to do with slavery.* Nothing to do with it! When the National flag cannot wave over a slave in this District, nor in any United States Territory, who is not a slave by Northern as well as Southern consent! Never was any duty plainer than theirs to attend to this affair—to see what it is which they, by their representatives, have been perpetually sanctioning and extending. There is need that the voice of the ancient prophet should be in every breath which stirs the free airs of free States, crying to each man this day, "Arise; for this matter belongeth unto thee!"

I alluded just now to those who had assailed the Southern institution, and neglected the demonstrable fact that the first and (until attended to) the only assailable thing with them was their complicity in it. The only sin of these is a confused perception. But there is another class of real criminals. It is they who see slavery to be wrong, and see how they participate in it, and might free themselves from it, but suffer themselves to be overcome by its allurements. I have been ashamed to hear, in Boston, the descendants of the Puritans apologizing for slavery. They thought a Southern man would like that. But no Southern man would like that! The Southerners, thank God, are not so bad; they say, *Slavery is right; if not, there is no apology for it.* John Randolph spoke their sentiment, when, pointing his finger at one such man in Congress, he said, "I envy not the heart nor the head of a man who can come here from the North and defend slavery." Southern politicians are willing to make use of such, whilst they laugh in their sleeves; but the nobler men and women of the South grieve to see men falling thus meanly.

Here at Washington it has been as the fly in wheat—one noble head after another laid low; falling into infidelity, as the Slavery Power has cast some web of interest around them. And those who believe, with Christianity, that it profits not a man to gain the whole world and lose his soul, turn pale and say, "Who falls next?" No matter if the concession is for "Peace." So did the army on the Alps desire nothing so much as peace, to lie down anywhere and sleep; and those who slept never woke more! Nothing is deadlier, at times, than peace; and invariably when, as in this case, the word Peace is but a cover of your desire that your personal interest and business should be undisturbed—a disguise of that only Satan, selfishness.

Ah, ye American men! too soon have you inscribed on your banner, *Peaceable.* More successful had it been if the word had been in the order in which the ancient Christian places it—*first pure, then peaceable.* Never was there but one path given men to walk in: it is that of a pure conscience. Whether the light be dim or bright, it is in the right direction; guilt is in veering from that. There may be innumerable crooked lines between the two points, but one straight. What is the right line between us and that peace we all crave?

We can all imagine two men of entire candour and courtesy—the one Southern, and believing slavery right in itself; the other Northern, and believing it wrong—coming to an understanding on the subject; the common postulate being only that neither must himself do what he believes essentially wrong.

*Southerner.*—I believe the institution is best for the white and coloured races.

*Northerner.*—I make no doubt of your sincerity, but would like to discuss it.

*Sou.*—We may do that presently. But will you not allow that, so long as I hold that opinion, you have no right of any kind to illegally interfere with what I hold legally as property?

*Nor.*—I do see that. The wrong is not in my detestation of slavery, nor my endeavour to inspire you with a like feeling, but in my attempting a right thing in a wrong way.

*Sou.*—Which is always an unsuccessful way.

*Nor.*—Now let us define the other side. I believe that slavery is the "wild and wicked fantasy" that Brougham called it, or the "sum of all villanies" which Wesley pronounced it. You are connected with it sincerely, and therefore, unless you have refused possible light, innocently; but, if I am connected with it, I sin.

*Sou.*—Certainly.

*Nor.*—If you and I have partnership in a slave, your innocence does not exculpate me.

*Sou.*—Certainly not.

*Nor.*—If you seek to make me a party to anything which I hold wrong, you are guilty, even though you believe it right, unless you can first persuade me also that it is right.

*Sou.*—It is so.

*Nor.*—And if our firm cannot remain without involving me in this wrong, my one path is out of it. The firm must be dissolved.

*Sou.*—Assuredly.

Now, my friends, let us approach our national agitations thus simply and quietly. The People of the United States are a firm. Wherever the firm deals with slavery, *all* deal with slavery; and the General Government *has* dealt, and does now deal, with that local institution. I appeal to you, Southern men, is it not the only right thing for those who believe slavery to be sinful, whether it be really so or not, firmly to declare themselves free from all share in it, if not by your concession, then by whatever means they can, *but certainly to do it?*

But, it is said, your fathers conceded this and that, and will you not stand by their compact?

If there be any compact, and it pledges me to what I feel wrong, shall I be judged by my father's light?

"But if, in obedience to your conscience, you should injure this Union, you would cause great evils—evils greater than slavery."

Evils are not as bad as sins. We do not wish to [illegible] ourselves of our share in National slaveholding, as from an evil disease, but as a moral defection, as falsehood or theft would be. Evil is a part of God's Law, for [illegible] by every prophet, "I create evil." He is responsible for whatever evils issue; we only for doing His will. Is not my soul his voice? And when I reject that voice, which assures me it is wrong to do this, is it not a sad lack of faith in Him? As one who would say, "Thou, Infinite Being! didst bid me thus, but didst not foresee, as I do, that this and that evil would follow!"

"Will you imperil the interests of thirty millions of whites, for three or four of Africans?"

The adages, reply the others, are very good: *Honesty*, even in the old Roman sense, embracing all that is just and true to God and man, *is the best policy. Right never wronged any man.* The interests of the three or four millions of negroes are not so near to us as the interests of the whites who hold them. Those we would but redeem from physical slavery; but these we would redeem

from what by our creed is far worse, *the crime of enslaving them*. If I rob you, you know I am the far worse off of the two.

"Then, if you think thus, we must separate. We think you in error, that you cannot think our institution right; or that even to say it is inexpedient, or an evil, does not define your view: that you must count it immoral. Certainly, nothing, however valuable, should induce us to do wrong; and the South admires, as much as any people, the brave words of Phocion, '*Let justice be done, though the heavens fall!*'"

But, it is replied, it does not end here. You say we must secede. But this proceeds from the assumption that the Union is inextricably involved in the policy which makes all hold slaves. We do not believe that; we think the Union is essentially involved in Freedom, and that all its pro-slavery proclivities are usurpations. We believe, indeed, that it does not interfere with you in your slaveholding, nor the English in their aristocracy, nor the Arabs in their Mahomedanism; but at the same time we believe our Constitution protects us from compulsory sanction of these, and protects us in our freedom. Thus, we cannot enlist against it, but only to redeem it from the distractions resulting from a misinterpretation of our compact. If there is secession, it cannot be on our side.

On this assertion, now made by a large portion of this this nation in terrible earnest, hangs all the excitement, and will hang more and more. Crimination and violence serve no purpose here. Both are equally sincere. Individuals may be insincere, but no large mass of men can hold together with means and influence for any length of time on an affected or fanatical basis. Hypocrisy would forbid the enthusiasm manifested on both sides; and the outlay necessary for a cause cools all fanaticism.

How, then, shall these be reconciled with each other, preserving self-truthfulness?

We must set aside here those who cry "Peace," when there is none. I, for one, have lost forever my faith in those self-styled conservatives, who would rely upon "putting down agitation." The cry has been sounded for a score of years, and with what success any one may see by going no farther than the House of Representatives. Stop agitation! So Xerxes forbade the sea to advance; so the Phœnicians shot arrows into the clouds when a storm arose; so an English gentleman wrote an elaborate treatise, showing conclusively that the Atlantic could never be crossed by steam, which went out to America in the first steamer. Stop agitation! Judging by late events in Kansas, one would say it would take much more agitation than the country has yet known to put down agitation.

No; this scab of Acquiescence, which you would bring over the sore, is not a cure, even if you could get it; the fester would only deepen more treacherously. Agitation is not the disease, but the friendly symptom which admonishes of disease. Eruption and fever are the health of a disease; a wise physician will never wish them to cease, but by the eradication of the undying cause.

How, then, is Peace, which all love, and which is for the interest of all, to come?

Let St. James answer: *By the wisdom which cometh from above, which is first pure, then peaceable.* Let every man in the Union only feel assured that he stands beneath the sheltering wing of his country, A PURE MAN. Let men cease to see the National Flag discoloured by what they believe dishonourable and wrong, and then be told they have nothing to do with it, when each stands with his share in the eye of God and man! Then shall that unrest, which is the sign of the strong lash of Conscience, cease. Then shall the word SLAVERY, that dirge of our woes, never more disorganize Congress, for it will be beyond Congress. I pity the Northern man who finds repose whilst his hand is binding slaves; still more the Southern man who would desire to have him find peace in impurity.

I know how large a number of good men in the North this position will offend. But I am ready to reiterate that, when their personal responsibility for the bondage of a man anywhere is past, slavery only addresses them as other evils. A man cannot, of course, cease his testimony against whatever is to him wrong, except by being so far forth implicated in it. It may, however, be emphatically announced to this class, that if all they had ever thought, said, or written, on this topic—abstractly good, as much of it is—were condensed into one word, it would be to the act which would have freed them, or any one of them, from complicity in the thing, as a child's play to the great Lisbon Earthquake. If any of them thinks that the preservation of the Union involves such complicity, let him not turn phrase-monger, but himself secede, and rot in prison, ere he pays taxes or accepts advantages in his State through which he is inevitably involved. No eloquence would persuade like this. A great action is, by its divine nature, irresistible; great words are good only when difficulties make them great actions. In some way or other, nations are at the mercy of strong men, and ten thousand flee before one. Truly, says the Brahmin:

Devoutly speak, and men
Devoutly listen to thee;
Devoutly act, and then
The strength of God acts through thee.

How Godlike is it to be brave and true! There never was a soul conceived in God's mind, or projected into the North or South, or East or West, who in itself honoured dapperness or cowardice, and respected not an honest, unflinching stand on any side. I am a Southern man, and I fear not contradiction from any one born there when I say that they all respect a man from the North who will not bend from his principles; and that not one of them thinks a doughface worthy to be valued as more than a catspaw. A heroic action, which is such only because imperilling large interests, is a new star lit in the Heavens. Men see it, and feel the presence of the unseen higher Power; they know with joy that the earth is more than a moving ant-hill. This joy cannot be moved by any danger or loss. If the Union were sundered by such a stand, does it not pay in that it props the whole Earth? For were the Union divided on a principle of right, a voice like the angel-hymn of a Second Advent would go forth, proclaiming the law by which thrones tremble, and all oppressions and evils fall as leaves in October: *First pure, then peaceable.*

Before all, then, let us dismiss Fear. Let us, with Montaigne, fear nothing so much as fear. Southern men! Northern men! be one in being brave for your light and your right! If it should be found ever necessary to separate—as I pray I may never believe more than I do now—still would mutual honour survive; and by no event can any obstruction befall the vast destiny for which these superb American hills and plains were planned. By their great strength, these national throes proclaim the grandeur of a Nation's new birth. Hark! there is now, as of old, a voice on the angry waters, "It is I: be not afraid." Serene and unharmed above our small cares and storms is enthroned the Genius in whose mind once, as in an egg, lay the Western Hemisphere, and Columbus, and Washington, and to our tearful prayer replies, *Oh, man, think you that I have created these in vain? Know that until God is dethroned, the Right must prevail: Until He dies, nothing good can die!*

## *FREE NEGROES IN GEORGIA.*

PROCEEDINGS IN THE LEGISLATURE OF GEORGIA, JAN. 25.

From The Savannah Republican.

THE bill for the removal of free negroes was next taken up. Mr. Phillips offered a substitute recommending the propriety of assessing them all with a tax to raise a fund to be used for the purpose of removing them.

Mr. Jones spoke in opposition to the bill and the substitute. The principle involved in this measure was revolting to his nature. The dignity of the Legislature should be above such paltry, ungenerous movements, as waging war on the poor, defenceless, unrepresented portion of the community, a portion having no means of redress in case they are wronged, holding the intermediate position between slaves and the lowest class of whites. If any class needed protection, they did; and if any class should be free from persecution, they should.

The philanthropic gentlemen engaged in the colonization scheme, animated with the purest motives of benevolence and charity, after having witnessed the effects of exportation, characterized it as a curse upon the free negroes. Every returning ship brings earnest petitions from these poor unhappy exiles, driven from this free country, to be brought back again to the country of their birth and their friends.

Mr. Crook, of Chattooga, in reply, said that this was an act of self-preservation, of deliberate, prudent estimation of dire consequence to result from presence of a dangerous people. Other Southern States have enacted laws similar to this, the free States excluded them, and thus, in Georgia, would gather this almost outcast population in numbers sufficient to warrant the idea of danger.

Mr. Dawson, of Greene, addressing himself to the arguments of Mr. Crook, said there were statutes prohibiting the introduction of free negroes. Joel Early, of Greene, liberated thirty slaves, all of whom went to Liberia—and of this number one was living, the rest having died off one by one. He could not support the bill. There were stringent laws to keep them in check, and the laws of the State forbid manumission. He had observed those who lived in his County to be orderly and well-behaved.

Mr. Hayne—Chattooga has but ninety-three negroes, and consequently there is no cause for alarm on the part of the gentleman from that County.

Mr. Jones then spoke of their low condition, fervently appealing for sympathy for the ignorant, benighted African; he showed statistics proving the perfect immunity from danger from this class, exhibiting the effect of colonization, &c. Mr. Crook then replied most ably sustaining his positions, adducing new arguments, and occasionally indulging in a flight of eloquence.

Dr. Phillips supported Mr. Crook with great power, and, in the course of his remarks, brought up the name of Jefferson.

Mr. Lawton, of Chatham, said that he knew a large number of residents in Savannah, slaveholders, who were well acquainted with every change that had taken place in the circumstances of the blacks, and those men apprehended no danger. The free negroes were orderly, hard-working, industrious, law-respecting people. He differed from the gentleman concerning the Colonization Society. He believed it was a medium of much good; different accounts had been received from Liberia, and they all seemed to be doing well there. He did not think now was the proper time to legislate on the subject.

Mr. Harris, of Fulton, objected to so summary a disposition of such an important matter. Introduced by a distinguished legislator, some action should be taken upon it—the people expected and demanded it. The subject was postponed indefinitely.

## *COTTON CULTURE BY FREE LABOUR.*

MR. CLEGG, of Manchester, is at present in Naples, endeavouring to organize an extensive growth of cotton by free labour, partly with a commercial and partly with an anti-slavery view. A letter from Naples in *The* (London) *Daily News*, says:

"The Two Sicilies would in every respect be admirably adapted for the cultivation of cotton. The average rental of land is not high, and of sandy, swampy ground, suited to the object proposed very low. Of such land, too, there is a vast quantity lying almost waste on the shores of the Adriatic from Leece to Brindisi, and between Torre dell' Annunziata and Cartellamare and other ports. Cotton, too, is actually grown both in Sicily and on the Continent, so that the experiment would not be new, and it has entirely succeeded.

"In Sicily about 2,000,000 pounds are grown annually, half of which is exported to Naples, and the other half is consumed in the island. In the continental parts of the kingdom about 2,200,000 pounds are grown and consumed, while 800,000 pounds are imported from New Orleans. The annual produce of the kingdom is, therefore, about 4,000,000 pounds, while the annual consumption is about 5,000,000 pounds. In proof of the yet greater capabilities of the country, a letter from a Sicilian merchant, now before me, says: 'Notwithstanding the great consumption, it would not be difficult to export a quantity of cotton.'

"This report, therefore, founded on facts, is eminently encouraging to the project of Mr. Clegg; and all that is wanting is a little capital and a little enterprise—just what the Neapolitans have not."


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1856.


## *EVANGELICAL DOCTRINE OF "FREE-LOVE."*

IT is not long since the moral and religious portion of the community were shocked by the revelation that there existed in this city an association formed for the purpose of undermining and destroying the institution of monogamous marriage, and asserting the natural right of the sexes to cohabit promiscuously, according to their own wish or inclination for the time being. The pro-slavery religious journals, not content with denouncing this association as a vile assault upon a fundamental institution of Christianity, treated it as one of the natural fruits of the *Reform* spirit of the age, or of that hostility to "evangelical" religion, in which, according to them, that spirit has its origin. To that terrible catalogue of "*isms*" wherewith your *New York Observers*, *Christian Intelligencers*, Bennett's *Heralds*, New York *Expresses* and kindred sheets had been accustomed to illustrate the lamentable progress of evil opinions and practices, was added another, more unctuous than the rest, viz.: "*Free-Love-ism.*" "See!" said these pious conservators of the public morals, "the dreadful consequences of leaving the good old ways, of wandering from the straight line of 'evangelical' faith into the by-paths of Fourierism, Abolitionism, Spiritualism, etc. Whoever forsakes the old landmarks of the Church enters a path whose end he may not see, but which leads inevitably down to the regions of infidelity and spiritual death, and finally into the slough of 'Free-Love!' Beware then of the first '*ism*'!"

The effrontery of all this on the part of men who have for years connived at all the impurities of the slave-system—nay, who have ransacked the Bible for texts wherewith to weave apologies for legalized concubinage and lust—was equalled only by its audacious falsehood. It is not at the door of the Social Reformers, of whatever name, that we must lay the responsibility of the modern heresy of "Free-Love." The doctrine is of "evangelical" origin; and if we may believe the testimony of eminent orthodox doctors and missionaries, it is, like the blessed institution of slavery, sanctioned by the Bible and even by Christianity! The proof of what we assert, however startling it may appear, is at hand, and shall be submitted to the inspection of the reader.

Dr. Allen, in his recently published work* on India, in treating of the institution of Polygamy, discloses the doctrines held and taught in respect to Marriage, by the Missionaries of the American Board in that quarter of the world—taught, we have a right to presume, with the knowledge and approbation of the Board itself and of its leading friends in the United States. Our attention was first called to Dr. Allen's work by a notice in the Boston *Zion's Herald*, but we have verified the quotations we are about to submit by reference to the work itself. On pp. 553-4, the Rev. Doctor says:

"Now what shall be done in respect to such persons (polygamists) when they give credible evidence of personal piety and seek admission into the Christian Church? No case of this kind occured in my own missionary experience. But some cases have occurred in India, and this difficulty will occur in numerous instances in the progress of the Gospel. The subject will also have the consideration and decision of the highest authority, ecclesiastical and judiciary, in India and England. My opinion is that the general practice in missions in respect to such cases will be as follows: When any man who has more than one wife to whom he has been legally married wishes to be admitted into the Christian Church, he will be required to make a free and full statement of his domestic relations. *He will be permitted to retain his marital connection with all his wives* and his parental relation to all his children, subject to the discipline of the Church for the proper government of his household. *Whether he may or may not cohabit with his different wives will be left, I believe, entirely to him and to them, to act according to their views of duty.* At the same time the nature of the married relation, according to the Christian dispensation and the usage of the Church, and the reason why such cases are for a while tolerated, will be fully explained. No man thus admitted while a polygamist can be ordained a Christian teacher. In this way polygamy will have the testimony of the Church against it; and as no Christian man can ever become a polygamist, all such cases will cease with the lives of those thus admitted."

Nor is this merely the opinion of the Rev. Doctor as to what is likely to happen in the future; for, in the Appendix to his work, p. 601, he informs us that "the Calcutta Missionary Conference" (representing Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists and Congregationalists), "consisting of the Missionaries of the various Societies which have missionaries in that vicinity, after frequent consultations and much consideration on the subject of polygamy as it exists in India, were unanimous in the following" conclusion:

"If a convert before becoming a Christian has married more wives than one, in accordance with the practice of the Jewish and primitive Christian churches, *he shall be permitted to keep them all*, but such a person is not eligible to any office in the Church."

Thus, if a heathen convert will only consent to forego the chance of holding office in the Church, he may continue in the practice of the doctrine of "free-love" during his whole life; and the Church meanwhile will endorse his piety and allay his fears of future retribution by assurances of a safe passport to the joys of heaven! We should think that, on such terms, the conversion of the heathen would be no very difficult job. Our American "Free-Lovers," we dare say, would most willingly make the same compromise, and, for the sake of a license for their darling practices from the Church, joyfully relinquish all chance of becoming either ministers or deacons! We generously give the *Home* Missionary Society the benefit of this hint. At the same time, we must frankly confess that *we* are at a loss to discover any Scriptural or ethical ground for this distinction of privilege between official and unofficial saints. But we suppose it is not given to an "infidel" Abolitionist to understand the mysteries of the "evangelical" faith. To our "carnal" understanding it seems as inconsistent with the fundamental equality taught in the Gospel, that one class of saints should be deemed ineligible to the offices of the Church, as it is contrary to its morality that they should be indulged in practices which are prohibited to another class. Perhaps, however, this is one of the things which it is impossible for the "natural man" to comprehend, and which, therefore, are "foolishness unto him."

This treatment of polygamy, or "free-love," is based distinctly on the assumption that it is *not morally wrong*; in other words, that monogamous marriage is not founded on any principle of absolute morality, applicable alike to all countries and circumstances, but only on grounds of policy and expediency. Hence, says a writer in the Calcutta *Christian Observer* (a worthy compeer of the *Observer* of New York), quoted by Dr. Allen (Ap. p. 602):

"The previous lawfulness of polygamy abstractedly considered and the course actually adopted by the Almighty for its ultimate subversion suggest a *second* remark, that when a heathen man has been legally married (i. e. according to the laws of his own country and religion) to more than one wife, whether any distinction of grade or class, of wife or concubine, &c., be observed or not, it does not appear that anything in the character of polygamy itself, or *in the institution of Christianity* (?), demands the putting away of one or more of such women. They are his wives; he has promised them duty of marriage, support, and protection. He has no right to diminish aught of their just claims." * * * "Let no Christian after he has been admitted into the Christian Church add unto his wives or support the practice of polygamy, however usual in his nation and country. But if already a polygamist, let him live, as the ancient patriarchs did, *in the holy and faithful fulfilment of all the duties of marriage alike with all his wives legally such*; let him not for a moment allow himself to entertain the *monstrous and unnatural* purpose of injuring those he loved and swore to love forever * * * by putting them away for no original or after fault of *theirs* upon *his* becoming a Christian."

Again, Dr. Allen himself says:

"Now, if polygamy was not morally wrong, if the custom even had the Divine approbation, among the Jews of old, it must follow, I believe by consequence, that *it is not intrinsically and morally wrong as it exists among the Jews, Mohammedans, and Hindoos*; and if it is not morally wrong, among them, then the continuance of the relation (thus previously formed) after they have become Christians, and the performance of all the obligations involved in the relations, cannot be morally wrong." p. 604.

Again, on p. 553, Dr. Allen says:

"Some people in this country appear to be of the opinion that polygamy, being contrary to the Christian dispensation, and contrary, as they think, to the well-being of families, as well as of general society and of nations, must be classed, wherever found, with theft, adultery, murder, &c., and that people in any country who have entered into this state must have as clearly seen and known that they were doing wrong as if they had been violating any of the Ten Commandments. But such were not the views of pious Jews in ancient times, as the cases of Jacob, Elkanah and David clearly show, nor are such the views of Jews in mod[illegible] they live in countries where they can [illegible] laws. Indeed, so far fro[illegible] wrong, they not unfreque[illegible] wife *with much reluctance*, [illegible] *perpetuate their name, their f*[illegible]

It will be observed that the [illegible] polygamous marriage, or Hindoo "free-love," and for the admission to the Church of those who are involved therein, is the exact counterpart of that wherewith the leading "evangelical" Divines of this country have so long attempted to buttress the slave system and to vindicate the practice of admitting men-stealers to Christian communion. "Free-love," when sanctioned by Hindoo custom and law, is not, any more than American slavery, a *sin*, to be at once repented of and forsaken, but only an "evil," to be tolerated for the time being and abolished gradually! Let not the "Free-Love Club," so recently routed by a meddlesome police, despair of their cause. For their fundamental principle of hostility to monogamous marriage as a local rather than a fundamental and universal institution, they already have the most respectable Orthodox authority; and if they can only succeed in remodelling the laws and customs of the United States in accordance with their principles, they will have the American Church, with all its array of Bible, Tract and Missionary Societies, its pulpits, magazines and newspapers, to fight their battles and vindicate their title to the Christian name. And why, if polygamy is not in itself a sin, independent of the sanction or condemnation of human laws or customs, should *not* the advocates of "free-love" be encouraged to labour for such modifications of our institutions as will leave them free to carry their doctrines into practice? Why should a sinner in America be forbidden to indulge a practice which Christianity, "evangelically" interpreted, allows in a Hindoo saint? We insist that if Dr. Allen and the American Board are right in the assumption that polygamy is not in itself morally wrong, then the "Free-Love Club" has been most unjustly treated by the religious press. If, on the other hand, the "free-love" philosophy is utterly at war with Christianity and moral purity, let the responsibility therefor be placed where it belongs—upon the chief priests, scribes and pharisees of the pro-slavery American Church—upon the American Board and its defenders. Let us not be told that a religion which is fit to be carried, at immense expense of time and money, to the Hindoos, is not good enough for the United States; that Christianity has two codes of morals, one for the civilized and another for the barbarous portions of the human family; that what is right in one quarter of the globe is a deadly sin in anoth[er.]

It will be seen that the argument i[illegible] founded upon the master's alleged re[illegible] of the slave, has its counterpart in the [illegible] mist, who, we are told, in taking to [illegible] tenth or fiftieth wife, is not influenced [by unworthy] passion, but acts "not unfrequently" "*from a painful sense of duty*"! As the pious slaveholder longs to free his slaves, but is restrained from doing so by motives of humanity or public policy, so the Hindoo would gladly be absolved from the necessity of augmenting the number of his wives, and consents to take another "with much reluctance."

How preposterous is the idea that a Church, or a Missionary Board, with no higher standard of morals than this, and which, for the sake of a nominal and empty success, is willing to set aside the immutable laws of God in deference to the statutes and customs of sinful men, can be the channel for conveying to the heathen a pure Christianity! In the light of this disclosure, we pronounce the American Board a cheat and an imposture. Under pretence of propagating the Gospel to the heathen, it is undermining the very foundations of Christian morality at home and abroad. Better were it if every dollar that goes into its treasury were sunk in the depths of the sea! The popular Christianity of our country is utterly corrupt and spurious, and, by all our regard for the present and eternal welfare of the heathen, we desire to save them from its pestiferous influence. And yet there are men, calling themselves Abolitionists, who, while contributing their tens and fifties and hundreds of dollars to the American Board, give scarcely *one* dollar to help the anti-slavery cause! When will they learn that the best service they can render to the cause of Christianity is to aid in breaking the power of a Church which prostitutes the Bible to support human slavery, and baptizes oppression, concubinage and lust in the name of Christ?

*Zion's Herald*, we are glad to see, condemns the loose morality of Dr. Allen and the American Board. The Methodists, having no mission in India, are not involved in the support of Hindoo polygamy, any further than they have become so by the analogous teachings of their leading divines and newspapers on the subject of slavery. The *Herald* of late has done good service in the cause of freedom in exposing the ingenious sophistries whereby the leaders of the Methodist Church have so long contrived to reconcile their followers to the continuance of slavery within their fold; and now it warns the Methodist Missionary Committee not to follow the bad example of the American Board. The antecedents of the men composing that Committee, however, afford small ground for hope that this warning will be regarded.

* India, Ancient and Modern. Geographical, Historical, Political, Social and Religious; with a Particular Account of the State and Prospects of Christianity. By David O. Allen, D.D., Missionary of the American Board for twenty-five years in India, etc. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1856.

## *GEORGIA IN A RAGE.*

THE resolutions of the Legislature of Vermont on the Kansas question [see STANDARD of Dec. 8] appear to have set the Governors and legislative assemblies of several Southern States into fits of uncontrollable rage. Though temperate in doctrine and courteous in language, they are deemed by the lords of the lash an unpardonable affront to their dignity, the rebellious utterance of white slaves of the North, whose duty it was to receive in submissive silence and meekness whatever their Southern masters might see fit to impose. Gov. Johnson, of Georgia, made them the subject of a portentous message to the Legislature of that State, ending as follows:

"But it is vain to expect that our assailants will voluntarily relent their purpose or relax their efforts for our destruction. They will either conquer the friends of the Constitution and the Union or they must be conquered. In the latter result, the rights of the South will be maintained; but in the event of the former, the South must take care of herself. Such is the awful issue which is now distinctly presented to the country. Whilst you should studiously avoid all rashness, either in expression or action, you will be disloyal to the great first law of self-protection if you should fail to adopt such measures of legislation as may be best calculated to avert impending calamities if they may be, and if not, to protect the State against their ruinous consequences. Georgia took her position upon this momentous issue in her Convention of 1850. In the fourth resolution adopted by that body she solemnly announced that she would 'resist, even (as a last resort) to the disruption of every tie that binds her to the Union,' the acts of aggression therein enumerated. But the Convention did not designate the time and mode of resistance, but left it for a future Convention to determine. But such a Convention cannot be assembled without legislative authority. I therefore respectfully renew the recommendation contained in my message to the General Assembly at the commencement of your session, that you pass an act authorizing the Governor, upon the happening of any of the contingencies specified in the fourth resolution of the Convention of 1850, to call a Convention to consider and determine the time and mode of resistance thereby contemplated. Should such contingency never arise, the Legislature can do no harm; if it should, it will be notice in advance to our assailants; will throw upon them the responsibility of consequences, and justify the State in the estimation of mankind. The signs of the times are portentous; it rests with you calmly and firmly to place the State in the best attitude to breast the swelling storm."

The reading of the message and of the Vermont resolutions in the House of Representatives was followed by a scene which the Milledgeville journals thus describe:

Every man expressed the utmost contempt and loathing for this string of insulting falsehoods and for their authors. The only point upon which they were not agreed was what disposition should be made of them.

Mr. Lewis, of Green, moved to refer them to the Committee on the State of the Republic.

Mr. Jones, of Morgan, opposed, and offered a resolution that the Governor transmit to the Governor of Vermont, with a request to lay the same before the Legislature of said State, the resolves of the Georgia Convention of 1850, and to enclose within the same a leaden bullet.

Mr. Terhune said he would go for that if they would send powder with it.

Mr. Jones—And a coil of rope.

Mr. Terhune—"Hanging is too good for traitors." He was opposed to referring these resolutions to the Committee on the State of the Republic. Words were useless. The time for action had come. He, for one, was prepared to act, and he hoped they would not be bound in the form of a committee.

Mr. Crook, Chairman of the Committee, assured the gentleman from Floyd that the Committee had as much contempt for these things as he, and that some active indication of that would be recommended by them.

Mr. Smith, of Union, offered the following resolutions, the reading of which was received with applause by the House:

Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, that his Excellency, the Governor, be, and is hereby, requested to transmit the Vermont resolutions forthwith to the deep, dark and fetid sink of social and political iniquity from whence they emanated, with the following unequivocal declaration inscribed thereon:

Resolved, That Georgia, standing on her constitutional palladium, heeds not the maniac ravings of hell-born fanaticism, nor stoops from her lofty position to hold terms with perjured traitors.

After some further discussion, the motion to refer prevailed. A motion was then made to print five hundred [illegible] Governor's Message (accompanying these [illegible] Vermont resolves. The House would not [e]ntertain the idea of printing these insults, [illegible] further debate, one hundred copies of the [illegible] ordered to be printed.

[illegible]e, the following resolution was offered:

[illegible] his Excellency, President Pierce, be requested to employ a sufficient number of able-bodied Irishmen to proceed to the State of Vermont, and to dig a ditch around the limits of the same, and to float "the thing" into the Atlantic.

As John Quincy Adams once said, in reply to the bluster of slaveholders, "This is terrible—very terrible!" The descendants of Ethan Allen should tremble in view of their impending fate.

## *OHIO CONVENTION OF COLOURED MEN.*

THE *Ohio Columbian* brings us a very interesting report of the proceedings of the State Convention of Coloured Men, held in Columbus, Jan. 16th, 17th and 18th. JOHN J. GAINES presided, assisted by several Vice-Presidents, while John Booker, Granville Foster and W. D. Harris acted as Secretaries. J. Mercer Langston was Chairman of the Business Committee, and Peter H. Clark of that to report an Address to the Legislature. The resolutions adopted by the Convention (from the pen, we presume, of J. M. Langston) are exceedingly pertinent and forcible, presenting fundamental principles in their proper relations to practical issues, evincing a clear apprehension of the work to be done and an earnest purpose to undertake that work and carry it forward, in spite of every obstacle, to its final consummation. The Colonization Society is denounced "as the embodiment of the pro-slavery sentiment of the country," the so-called Democratic party fitly characterized as the "black-hearted apostle of American slavery," and the death of the Whig party duly chronicled. The Republican party is recognised as an advance from the old parties toward the true anti-slavery ground, while "the real political party of freedom" is pronounced to be that which "declares that there can be no law for slavery." The following resolution shows that the Convention did not share the hostility toward the American Anti-Slavery Society which certain unscrupulous coloured men in other States have done so much to cherish and propagate:

"Resolved, That we regard the great moral results which are coming to pass through the agency of the American Anti-Slavery Society with unfeigned gratitude and thankfulness, and we will bid it a hearty God speed in its moral warfare against slavery and its audacious encroachments upon the rights of man."

The Address to the Legislature, adopted by the Con[illegible] [c]reditable to the intelligence and manly dignity [illegible] presented it. It portrays in forcible lan[illegible] injustice of the constitutional and legal disa[illegible]er which the coloured people of Ohio are [illegible] and appeals to the Legislature in fitting terms [illegible] of grievances.

A State Central Committee was appointed to procure lecturing agents, circulate petitions, and, by all other appropriate means, to carry out the objects of the Convention. It was proposed to raise $3,000, to be expended by the Committee in the furtherance of the designs for which it was appointed. A committee was also appointed "to take into consideration, and report upon the propriety, necessity and practicability of establishing a permanent press, as the organ of the coloured people of the State."

All the meetings of the Convention, after the first, were large and enthusiastic. Every evening, the large and commodious City Hall was filled to its utmost capacity with anxious listeners, both white and coloured. The speeches made by Langston, Clark, Gaines and others, were logical, pointed and eloquent, and were delivered with earnestness and great power.

DISGUSTING.—HON. LEWIS D. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, in the debate which followed the election of Banks to the Speakership, according to the report of the *National Intelligencer*, said:

"He had heard a great deal about the danger of a dissolution of the Union. What! had it come to this, that the election of any man to the Speakership could dissolve this glorious Union of ours? (Applause in the galleries.) He did not care what might be the sentiments of the gentleman who was to preside over their deliberations; he should be found one of the foremost in assailing him if he should dare take a single step that would put in jeopardy the Union of these States. He was an American, and for the Constitution of his country as the highest law that was to control their action, as well as for the Union of the States. If his heart was capable of entertaining a single sentiment hostile to the Union, he would tear it out and cast it to the dogs."

Language like this, from the lips of a leader of the Republican party, is simply disgusting. It must fail to win either the respect of the South or the confidence of the North. It is not the language natural to a man under the control of moral principle, but the frothy utterance of a political adventurer—a spouter for "Buncombe."

KANSAS AFFAIRS.—We have on hand many interesting items respecting the Kansas struggle, for which we have vainly sought to find room the present week. We must content ourselves with saying that there is every probability of a bloody fight in that Territory before the settlement of pending difficulties. The Free State men anticipate it, and are preparing for it. Strong efforts are making to send forward men and arms from the Free States at the earliest day possible. The slaveholders, too, are endeavouring to muster their forces. Gov. Chase, of Ohio, has sent a special message to the Legislature on the subject; so also has Gov. Clark, of this State. Last of all, the President has issued a proclamation, virtually sustaining the Border Ruffians and avowing his intention to support their cause by the power of the military.

PENNSYLVANIA.—The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives has reported, by a vote of 6 to 2, against the bill to change the venue in the case of Williamson vs. Kane. It was originally introduced in opposition to the advice of leading Democrats, who refused to yield to the appliances of United States officials. When Mr. Williamson's remonstrance was presented to the Senate, Mr. Buckalew, a prominent Democrat, took occasion to express his hostility to the bill. Thus was Judge Kane effectually snubbed in both branches of the Legislature. We learn, however, from the Philadelphia *Ledger*, that it is now proposed to accomplish the same object by a general bill, applicable to *all* suits instituted in Counties where the parties do not reside. The House Committee having reported in favour of this measure, we fear it may succeed.

OUR FIRST PAGE is occupied with two articles of more than ordinary interest and importance, to which we invite particular attention. "The Poor Whites of the South," in their ignorant and abject subserviency to the lords of the lash, present an illustration of the workings of slavery which is entitled to a more careful consideration than it has yet received. The Sermon of the young, valiant and devoted Unitarian minister at Washington will command the admiration of all those who know how to appreciate ministerial fidelity, exhibited in the face of temptations which have drugged the consciences and paralyzed the tongues of many older and more eminent preachers. Some things in the discourse invite comment, but want of room restrains us therefrom.

## *PERSONAL.*

MLLE. RACHEL FELIX departed from New York for Havre, in the steamer Fulton, on Saturday last. The state of her health compelled her to leave all unfulfilled her extensive professional engagements in this country and to seek the air of her native land.

REV. ROBERT HASSALL, a faithful preacher of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as a Gospel of Freedom, has left the Unitarian pulpit of Mendon, Mass., and will hereafter occupy that of Haverhill in the same State.

MISS CATHERINE BEECHER delivered a lecture in Cincinnati on the 29th ult., before the Common School Teachers, on the means of improving the health of the present generation, and especially the female sex. She is connected with an association in New York, called the American Women's Educational Association, whose object is to inquire into the causes of the deterioration of health of the present race of females, and the remedies.

REV. ADIN BALLOU, the founder of the Hopedale Community and a labourer, faithful and beloved, in the cause of Practical Christian Reform, called upon us, a few days since, on his way to Philadelphia, where he was engaged to preach last Sunday and the next to the congregation of Spiritualists in Sansom Hall. We were heartily glad to meet our friend once more, and to find his faith in the great truths of which he has so long been a bold and earnest champion growing brighter and stronger as the frosts of life's mellow autumn begin to whiten his brow.

GILES B. STEBBINS, widely and favorably known as an anti-slavery lecturer, has been employed in addressing Lyceums at the West during the present Winter, where he appears to have made a highly favourable impression. He proposes to visit New England early in March, and to lecture before such Lyceums or Literary Associations as may solicit his services. He has prepared two Lectures—one, "The Old and the New," the other "The West"—both of which are highly commended by gentlemen of note who have heard them. Mr. Stebbins may be addressed for the next two weeks at Rochester, N. Y.

LUCY STONE BLACKWELL delivered three lectures at Fort Wayne, Ia., recently, to large and delighted audiences. The *Standard* of that place says:

"Those who ignorantly went to the Hall from curiosity to hear the ranting fanaticism of the coarse, unsexed woman, who had officiously thrust herself 'out of her sphere,' were charmed and delighted by the unobtrusive modesty and simplicity of her appearance and demeanour, and astonished and won by the force of her reasonings and the admirable propriety which characterized her entire performance."

MR. BANKS, the recently elected Speaker at Washington, is thus spoken of by the New Bedford *Standard*:

"Mr. Banks is a good-looking man, with something of the clerical and Puritanic appearance which belongs to New England, but without the stilted stiffness which characterizes Winthrop. He is fond of retirement, although he has had a boisterous political life. All his studies, even that of law, have been pursued principally in private. He has a great fondness for literature, and has acquired, by his own unaided efforts, a good knowledge of the principal languages of Northern and Southern Europe. He is strictly temperate, and is even said never to have drank a glass of liquor in his life. The history of the poor Waltham boy is thus traced from the machine shop to one of the noblest positions in the Republic. A boy who never went to school after he was twelve years of age, in a few short years has achieved a reputation second to none in his native State or in the country."

SALMON P. CHASE.—The following is an extract from a letter to the Cleveland *Herald*, describing the ceremonies attending the inauguration of Gov. Chase:

"An old citizen of Columbus, after listening to the Inaugural, said he could but contrast the boyhood with the manhood of Mr. Chase. He well recollected his appearance when a student in the school of Bishop Chase, near Worthington; how unpretendingly he looked in tow pants and straw hat, when driving an ox team through the streets of Columbus, and the industry with which he applied himself to study and labour, engaging in the most humble employments, yet always ahead in his classes. What an example, continued our old friend, does Gov. Chase present to the young men of the State! How strikingly his success illustrates the fact that, under our free institutions,

"'Honour and shame from no condition rise;
Act well your part, there all the honour lies.'"

GEORGE THOMPSON has closed his connection with *The* [London] *Empire* and gone to India. Mr. Chesson, his son-in-law, in a letter to *The Liberator*, says:

"He wished me to tell you that you, and *the Cause*, were in his thoughts when he left England; and more, that wherever Providence may lead him, and however long he may remain in the mysterious land of the Hindoo, the affectionate remembrance of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON and his coadjutors will never forsake him, and true love for the slaves will never cease to possess the foremost place in his heart. It is impossible to say how long he will be absent. Probably years will elapse before his voice is again raised for freedom and humanity on English soil. But it is a consolation to him, as it is a source of satisfaction to his friends, to know that, although he goes to India chiefly on business of a non-political character, he yet will have it in his power to promote, by his visit, the well-being of the natives of that country."

DELIA A. WEBSTER.—Not long since, we copied from *The Independent* a letter from Miss Webster, the principal statements of which were endorsed by Mrs. Stowe. The case is quite familiar to our readers, and we need not now enter into details. Miss Webster appealed to the public for sympathy and aid in view of the persecution and suffering visited upon her by the slaveholders of Kentucky, it being alleged on their part that she had aided in the escape of slaves from their masters. We allude to the subject now for the purpose of saying that, in *The Liberator* of last week, we find a communication from Worcester, bringing to our recollection certain facts in Miss Webster's history which tend strongly to convict her of falsehood and deception, and thus to show that she is unworthy of confidence. The writer says:

"It appears that her short residence and acquaintance here (Worcester) have not tended to inspire confidence and respect on the part of many who have been most intimately associated with her in sympathetic endeavours to assist and relieve her in her professed distress and persecution. Let people in other places be on their guard; and if they are satisfied, as many here are, that she is a mere adventurer, a speculator in real estate and the sympathies of a generous public, let them withhold their aid and assistance."

The editor of *The Liberator* says:

"The nature of the letter of our Worcester correspondent is such as to require some clear and explicit statements from Miss Webster, in regard to her present sentiments and purposes; for, though she has undoubtedly been savagely treated by the 'chivalric,' alias demoniacal, spirit of Kentucky, her antecedents have not been such as to commend her specially to the confidence or aid of the self-sacrificing friends of the anti-slavery cause. As she is now seeking and obtaining liberal donations, on account of what she voluntarily (and we think most rashly) exposed herself to in Kentucky, it is due to all who have given, or who may yet be called upon to contribute, that a satisfactory reply should be made by her to our correspondent."

We shall not enter into this disagreeable subject any further at present. If Miss Webster seeks to defend herself, we shall do justice both to her and her accusers.

THE PROHIBITORY LAW.—The *Sunday Atlas* says it is in possession of information that warrants it in predicting that the Court of Appeals will, in the month of March next, pronounce the Prohibitory Liquor law a constitutional enactment, including the search and seizure clause. The whole eight Judges concur in the constitutionality of the main features of the law, and *five* of them unqualifiedly sustain the search and seizure principles! The opinions of the Judges are all written out, and the judgment of the Court, affirming the constitutionality of the law, is agreed upon. Judge Selden, whose election was supported by the liquor interest throughout the State, under the impression that he was opposed to the law, turns up exactly on the other side.

This decision, when rendered, says the *Atlas*, will create an intense excitement in this City, inasmuch as Mayor Wood stands pledged to enforce the law with fidelity, and has boasted of his ability to do it effectually, through the strong arm of the "civic army" under his control, in case the Judiciary should pronounce it constitutional.

*Per Contra.*—The *Evening Post* says:

"It was stated in the *Commercial Advertiser*, a few days since, and telegraphed from Albany to the New York morning papers of to-day, doubtless on that authority, that the Court of Appeals was to meet at Albany on Monday, and render a decision sustaining the constitutionality of the Prohibitory Liquor law. This is erroneous in every particular. In the first place, the Court of Appeals stands adjourned to the fourth Tuesday in March; and, in the second place, we have the very best reason for saying that, when they do meet, they will not sustain the constitutionality of that law, but, on the contrary, that many of its features will be pretty roughly handled."

"FLOURISHING LIKE A GREEN BAY TREE."—The *New York Observer* says that the receipts of the American Tract Society, up to the first day of February inst., are about ten thousand dollars *in advance* of last year, to the same date. The *Observer* remarks, in view of this fact, that the friends of the Society should be encouraged to redouble their diligence, and that the agents and officers may rely on the churches to stand by them, while they hold fast to the principles on which the Society is based; while they persist, in other words, in saying nothing against slavery and in mutilating foreign works to suit their guilty purpose.

## *LETTER FROM A. M. POWELL.*

*To The Editors of the Standard:*

DURING the last three months, and since my last letter in THE STANDARD, I have been engaged in the anti-slavery warfare in this State, and in North-Western Ohio, though mainly in different portions of Michigan.

Immediately after the Anniversary Meeting of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, held at Battle Creek, of which you have had some account, I visited Barry County and had a series of good and encouraging meetings. Barry is comparatively a newly settled County. To a great extent, the inhabitants are from different portions of the State of New York, as, indeed, is the case with a large proportion of the people of this State. Improvements in this County are in a somewhat backward condition, much of the land having fallen into the possession of non-resident speculators, who have refused to sell to actual settlers except at exorbitant prices. The effect is anything but favourable to the development of the agricultural resources, not alone of Barry County, but many other portions of the State, likewise, unfortunately, in the possession of Eastern speculators. Nowhere, in the West or at the East, have I had more interesting and satisfactory meetings than in the pioneer districts of Barry County, and other neighbourhoods of a similar character, in which I have since lectured. The sectarian priests and political hirelings have comparatively little influence therein, and hence the people give a much better hearing and a more ready and willing coöperation to the cause of enslaved and outraged humanity. In the proportion that the people become *pious* and *patriotic*, that is in the *American* sense, in the same degree are they generally found to be the enemies of the anti-slavery movement.

While in Johnstown, Barry County, I encountered the opposition of a Methodist minister, the *Rev. Alexander Aitchison*, who has recently settled in that neighbourhood from Ontaria County, New York, with a view, it is said, of holding meetings as a kind of missionary, eventually to establish a church. This man came to the meetings and entered most zealously into the defence of the Religion and the Government of this country. He took occasion to say that he knew all about Garrison and Abby Kelley—that they were notorious infidels, opposed to all government, to the marriage institution, &c., &c. And he thought it good evidence of the Christian character of the people assembled that they could sit and listen to or tolerate me in their midst, as a representative of that class of fanatics—thus endeavouring to stir up the passions and the prejudices of the people against me. But while labouring with indecent haste to get the halter of public sentiment about my neck, he very effectually placed it around his own, and proved his own executioner. It was said that he came to the meetings as a defender of pro-slavery piety and slave-breeding patriotism, to introduce himself to the favourable notice of the people, hoping thereby to advance the *cause of God*, and his own interests in building up a church. It was, I believe, pretty generally concluded that his prospects in that direction were in nowise improved by his unscrupulous conduct in our meetings.

Thus, as the inhabitants increase, and the clearing process goes on, and the foul and poisonous miasma arising from the swamps and marshes begins to disappear, rendering the country more healthy, physically, do these "hypocrites" and "blind guides," these "pious thieves" who devour not only "widows' houses," but, in this country, the "*widows*" themselves, follow on, as "Satan came also," and infest the country with the infectious miasma of their so-called religion, which is a rendezvous for "every foul and unclean thing," and must be as a "stench in the nostrils" of a just God, as it is destructive to the happiness and of the best interests of the people where it abounds.

In Washtenaw County, I had some very good meetings, having the coöperation of Samuel D. Moore, of Ypsilanti, a devoted and an uncompromising Abolitionist, formerly of Eastern Pennsylvania. At a later period, friend Moore accompanied me to Williams County, North-Western Ohio, where I had some very interesting and, in some instances, somewhat exciting meetings. At West Unity we stirred up a nest of the supporters of Gov. Medill, who, in Ohio, constitutes the *tail* of the party, of which the Kidnapper General, Franklin Pierce, is the *head*. These patriotic "Union-savers" were very earnest to "resist the agitation of the slavery question," and, on one occasion, resorted to the old fashioned "*egg argument*" to put it down, but even that seems to have lost its efficacy, if it ever had any, and the Union bids fair to go to pieces at an early day, in that locality, as there were a good number of subscriptions for the *Bugle* obtained, together with several intelligent converts to our cause gained. Our meetings in Ohio were, I have reason to believe, attended with good and encouraging results.

Subsequently, I spent about three weeks in Lenawee County, in this State. The meetings in this County were for the most part, very well attended, and more than usual interest was manifested in the great question of the day. Lenawee is one of the most pleasant Counties in the State, and is, perhaps, all things considered, the best soil for anti-slavery that I have yet found here. I am especially indebted to Charles E. Mickley and family, of Fairfield, for their hospitality and very kind coöperation.

During the past month, I have attended a series of meetings, with Mr. and Mrs. Philleo, as advertised in the STANDARD. We have had also, as a travelling companion, Jacob Walton, Jr., Secretary of the Michigan Society, who has rendered essential service in the good work. I cannot in this letter speak of these meetings at length. They have been mainly in an untried field, and upon new soil, and in a good degree successful. The meetings have generally been very well attended, and apparently, in nearly all the places we have visited, a good opening has been made for future operations.

While out upon this "exploring expedition," we have had some intensely cold weather, which reminded us very forcibly at times of the fate of Sir John Franklin's Expedition in the Arctic regions!

During the month of February I am to have a series of meetings in Oakland and Macomb Counties.

Yours, very sincerely, AARON M. POWELL.

Battle Creek, Mich., Feb. 1st, 1856.

DISUNION IN OHIO.—A memorial from the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, to the Legislature of Ohio, praying that body to take measures for the peaceful withdrawal of the State from the Union was presented in the House on the 8th inst., causing tremendous excitement. It was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations, 52 to 47. The Committee immediately reported it back, asking to be discharged from the further consideration thereof; which request was unanimously granted, the sensitive Republicans uniting with their opponents in the desire to be rid of the subject as speedily as possible. Well, the time *will* come when our State Legislatures will be constrained to give patient attention to such memorials. The Northern Back-bone is stiffening, and we must be patient.

A "SABBATH SCENE."—S. Barney writes to *The Western* [illegible] from Weedsport, New York, stating that a couple of fugitive slaves having arrived in the village one Saturday, they were taken next day to the Methodist Church, seated in the altar, and, at the close of the afternoon sermon, introduced to the congregation by the pastor, when a contribution was taken up to aid them in their journey toward Canada. Mr. Barney says: "From this very Church I had seceded twelve or fourteen years since, and, in the estimation of my brothers and sisters, I then backslid and lost my religion, and now I was surrounded, sanctioned and sustained in a violation of the Fugitive Slave law, the provisions of which were there trampled upon in the house of prayer on the Sabbath, by those very people by whom my former course had been severely censured." What will Dr. Bond say to this running of the Underground train right into the Methodist altar on a Sunday?

THE *Enquirer*, published at Grand Rapids, Mich., in its issue of Jan. 30, makes a scurrilous assault upon Mr. and Mrs. Philleo and Mr. Powell, whose labours as anti-slavery lecturers in that place appear to have disturbed its equanimity to a very remarkable degree. The editor, it seems, undertook to debate the question of slavery with those faithful champions of humanity, and we infer from his own story, and from the bad temper he exhibits, that he was pretty essentially used up. An adherent of the present national Administration, and an unblushing supporter of the Fugitive Slave law, should be careful how he ventures into the field of discussion with such speakers as those above named.

*The Republican*, of Hartford, Ct., we are sorry to see has been discontinued for want of adequate patronage. It was one of the very best of the political anti-slavery journals, and too firm in its adherence to first principles to suit the vacillating policy of party leaders and wire-workers. Mr. Bartlett, the late editor, has our best wishes for his future welfare.

## From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CLXXXIII.

ARGUMENT.—The Correspondent at a loss—He bringeth up on the nual Meeting—He describeth the demonstration Southward—e position taken up—The Gates and the Gallows—And sigheth r the good old times—He disserteth on the flavour of preachers—d its effect on halls—Of Mr. Toombs's Lecture—Of the platform f cats in strange garrets and of electrical phenomena—Of the bster Dinner—How he was not there—Of the dessert—Of small atoes—Of the decay in the hero-worship—He compassionateth Webster and remonstrateth with his friends on their cruelties He giveth the end of General Edmands's resignation—And eeth and felicitateth, &c. &c. &c.

BOSTON, Feb. 12, 1856.

t is so long since I have written to you that I have otten where I left off. Let me see. Have I sent you tter since our Annual Meeting? I think not. Well, had a very successful one, as far as the spirit which ailed went, and as far as the attendance of the mem- of the Massachusetts Society was concerned. We had a better one in these respects. But we failed s large an attendance of the world lying in wicked- outside the pale of the Anti-Slavery Church as we lly attract to bear what we have to say. This was g to the place of the meeting. The Managers of the iety, as I suppose (for I was not present at the meeting n the arrangements were made for the Anniversary), ng to madness by the taunt of the enemy, so often and triumphantly repeated, "WHY DON'T YOU GO TO THE " determined to go as far South as they discreetly ld, and so appointed the meeting at the Hall at the er of Washington and Dover Streets—at the South on the site of what used to be known to our child- as the Green Stores—the Farthest Thule of moderate estrians. It was just there that, a century ago, as I e it on the authority of men alive at that time, the es still stood which used to be shut in earlier times d perhaps then) to guard the town against the Indians. d just beyond, to the left, as you will see by any old n of Boston, grew the Gallows-tree, which even flour- d in those good old times and bore fruit at all seasons the year. Hanging was a permanent institution of golden days, and not a mere occasional recreation, with us.

t the hall was a very handsome and convenient one, en you did get to it; and it has no unpleasant odour ging round it from the fumes of the preaching for ich it is used on Sundays. There is the Tremont Tem- for instance. Even fire could not burn out the savour Rev. Nathaniel Colver left behind him. It always led the meetings we have tried to hold there. It will ke another conflagration, at least, to destroy entirely flavour he had imparted to the building. But, this , we had no such *malaria* to molest us. The hall is for preaching by James Freeman Clarke, whose our is only of sanctity and humanity, and who is not amed to take a part in our meetings. Besides him, we d Mr. Garrison, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Foster, Mr. Brown and rious others, as you have seen in the proceedings you ve printed. There was nothing to regret about it, cept that we could not have our usual crowd of pro- very sinners and of anxious inquirers on the skirts of e meeting to be fattened by the droppings of our sanc- ary. But we shall know better another time, and not move the mountain away from Mahomet in the faith at he will come up to it. We must even carry it again to the neighbourhood of the misbelievers. Still, we had ry excellent meetings, and the speeches of Mr. Phillips, both evenings, would have well repaid a pilgrimage to ose remote regions—remote, as we call them here in our mpact spider's-web; you would think the place only e next door in your longitudinous extravagance, and ugh at our thinking the distance as anything to speak of.

Then there was Mr. Toombs's Lecture, as one of the avery Course. As it befell on the evening of one of our etings, I could not conscientiously leave my own people r this stranger and sojourner. Indeed, I don't think I ould have gone at any rate, as I flatter myself he could t have told me anything new on that side of the ques- n. The place to go to for regular pro-slavery argu- ntation is not Savannah or Charleston, but Boston, w York and Philadelphia. Mr. Toombs had better ve his cause in the hands of Dr. Nehemiah Adams, Dr. gden and the like. He made but a poor hand of it, I s told, which I can well believe, having heard part of r. Houston's lecture last year. State Street and Beacon eet sent up numerous deputations to hold up his hands the right hand and on the left, as he strove in spirit ainst their common enemy. It was odd, I was told, to e those gentlemen in the society they found about them o see those respectable tabbies in such a very strange ret. I dare say they went home, purring comfortably, er having had their fur comfortably stroked down the ht way. They are very apt to get a *wipe* in the oppo- e direction, which has the natural effect of making the rks fly out of them. It would be an excellent dodge their part to get up a Pro-Slavery Course of Lectures next Winter, and I dare say good might come of it. t I trust that Anti-Slavery men will not again think it rth their while to offer inducements to stealers of men come and justify their courses, that they would not also before the lesser robbers of hen-roosts and pig-styes. s generally understood that this course has not been as ccessful, financially, as that of last year. It is, I sup- e, because the Anti-Slavery tide was rolling in so fast t they were carried on so prosperously, then. Now, re is a reflux in the natural course of things, to be fol- wed, it is to be hoped, by a yet stronger flow. Though hink the choice of lecturers had something to do with e result.

The Webster Dinner, on the birth-day of the hero of the venth of March, has come off, I think, since I last wrote you. By some oversight, I did not receive any invita- n, so I cannot speak from personal observation. The nquet was, however, I am assured, of the most sump- ous and splendid description. And yet, you will be rprised to hear that, after dinner, by way of dessert, ey had served up to them the very smallest kind of tatoes—small of the sort and few in a hill. Of course, o not include the contributions made by Mr. Everett, o presided, or by Mr. Hillard, both of whom did very ll in their respective ways, but the balance, as they say the West (it may be at the South), was the poorest sort trash. Nothing but the excellence of the wine could e washed it down. The Webster worship must be fall- g off sadly, judging from the quality of the offerings d this year upon his altar. Poor Mr. Webster! It was l in the slaveholders to refuse him a single Southern e in the Convention at Baltimore, and to send him me to Marshfield to die of the heart-break caused by ir ingratitude. But there was poetical equity in it, d it satisfied the demands of the sense of justice. But y need his friends feed the ridicule which could not but ach to that tragedy, by their grotesque attempts to ify his features? Even Mr. Everett's and Mr. Hil- d's flowers of rhetoric, carefully culled as they are, a little forced, it may be, cannot entirely hide the mic exaggeration of the image they set up before the le as the idol they are to venerate. But when it to the daubings and the thistles and pig-weeds of rest of them, it is really too bad. A dead man, even great public criminal like Mr. Webster, should be pro- from such treatment. He should have justice, but t be made a laughing-stock to men and angels.

I believe we were in the midst of our consternation sed by the resignation of our pharmacopolic Major- ral Edmands at my last date. You will sympathize th us in our relief, when I tell you that he has been ailed on to reconsider his resolution. Several of our ipal citizens, feeling the dangers which surrounded em and dreading the anarchy which might ensue were protection of his sword withdrawn, united in entreat- g him to remain at the head of the Sims Militia. It is ly possible, from the well-known facility of men to gn anything that is put before them (except a promise pay money, and sometimes that), that many of these lemen would have signed a petition as readily to have eral Edmands hanged. It is barely possible, too, that hey may have thought that he would be less dangerously mployed in superintending the exhibition of powder and ll than of powder and pill. At any rate, they signed the paper, and the hero relented and once more put him- lf at the head of our victorious protectors. You see, hen there are so many black Samsons about, any one of whom may at any moment lay hold of the pillars of our Glorious Union and bow himself upon them and bring all down in ruins, it is everything to have a veteran f, experienced in the dangers and stratagems of this arfare, to defeat his designs. For my own part, I cannot express my gratitude at this result, and you may come in for your share of the blessing in time. D. Y.

IN A RAGE.—Some of the Southern journals are very angry in view of Banks's election. The Richmond *Examiner* vents its rage in denouncing the Speaker as "a man by the name of Banks, a miserable rowdy, a triple renegade, and a Massachusetts Abolitionist." This is a choice specimen of Virginia manners, a striking illustration of the refining influences of slavery!

## From our Cincinnati Correspondent.

### THE SLAVE CASE IN CINCINNATI.

FEBRUARY 7, 1856.

FOR upwards of a week past there has been a Fugitive Slave Case, of unusual interest, and involving several nice points of law, on examination before United States Commissioner Pendery, which will not be closed for some days, perhaps for weeks, to come. You have, doubtless, before this time, become acquainted with the facts, as they have been published in all our newspapers, and the daily press has given full reports of the trial as it has progressed; but a concise statement of the main circumstances of the affair may not be amiss, prefatory to remarks I may make in this and subsequent letters upon this very important case. It is an occurrence that must be known and commented upon far and wide over the country.

On the night of Sunday, the 27th of January, two families of slaves, numbering in all 17 persons, owned in Boone County, Ky., about 16 miles from this city, escaped from bondage, crossed the Ohio river on the ice, and fled for safety to the house of Elijah Kite, a coloured man, residing just below the city, on the river road. Early next morning their owners arrived in pursuit, and, having procured writs for their arrest, the United States Deputy Marshal, with his assistants and a posse of police, proceeded to capture them. The coloured men were arrested, but, after some parley, the officers forced upon the doors, rushed in and secured the inmates of the house, one of the officers being wounded in the scuffle. Upon entering they found the youngest child, about three years of age, nearly dead, its throat having been cut from ear to ear. This deed was done by the mother, who threatened to kill her other children rather than have them taken back into slavery. Two of the children were also wounded slightly, doubtless by the mother. The party captured were seven in number—two men and their wives and three children. There were nine others, belonging to another master, who escaped the clutches of their pursuers and were passed safely by Underground Railroad to Canada.

A crowd of several hundred people soon gathered around the house, but the captives were taken in a car and driven rapidly to the United States Court-rooms, taken thence to the city station-house, and next day to the County jail, where they have been since confined, by consent of the Sheriff and Mayor Faran. A writ of *habeas corpus* was issued for the fugitives by Judge Burgoyne of the Probate Court, on the day of the capture, and the Sheriff got possession of them, but, finding there was some defection in the writ, and having the decision of Judge McLean in the Rosetta case before him, the next day he delivered them up to the United States Marshal. In his custody they have been since, and the hearing of the case has been progressing, before the United States Commissioner, for seven days. Messrs. Joliffe and Gitchell appear for the fugitives, and Col. Chambers, of this city, and Mr. Finnell, of Covington, Ky., for the claimants. The examination of witnesses was closed on Monday, the 4th, and the Court has to this date been listening to the arguments of counsel.

On the day of the capture and that succeeding, the Coroner made an investigation of the murder, and evidence was clear that the mother killed the child, and also made an attempt to kill the rest of the children and herself. The jury returned a verdict to that effect, and the mother has since made a confession, so that there can be no possible doubt of the fact. After the examination before the Commissioner had begun, a warrant was obtained by some of our friends for the arrest of the woman for murder, the object being to get her under the control of State authority, but the Commissioner would not give her up, and the City Marshal made a return to the writ, stating that he found the woman in custody of the United States Marshal, who would not surrender her. She will be arrested for trial on the charge of murder by our State Courts immediately on the decision of the case by the Commissioner. That gentleman has said in private conversation that he will not send the woman back to slavery while a charge or indictment for murder lies against her. That she will be returned to bondage I have little fear; but in regard to her children and the other fugitives the case is more doubtful. It is alleged that the men have, upon a number of occasions in previous years, and even as late as last Christmas, been sent to this State by their masters on business, and witnesses have been examined who have identified them and seem to establish the fact of their having been here with their owners' consent. This, upon the principles of law laid down by our State Courts and by the Commissioner himself in the Rosetta case, would give them their freedom. Their returning to Kentucky voluntarily only shows that they did not exercise their rights, and the waiving for a time of his legal rights by any one does not make them void.

This case has excited the deepest interest among all classes of our citizens, and for more than a week past has been the main topic of conversation. People express their views freely in regard to the murder, some condemning the mother strongly, others suggesting the peculiar circumstances in which she was placed in *palliation* of the deed. Much sympathy is felt for the woman, who, in the distraction of the moment, would rather kill her children than have them returned into slavery. Much credit is due to Mr. Joliffe for the very able and eloquent vindication of the rights of the fugitives. His speech, on Wednesday, to the Court, was one of the most feeling and manly appeals in behalf of freedom ever made in our Court-rooms.

The Mayor of the city dismissed two of the police, a few days since, for engaging in the arrest of the fugitives, without being required by the United States Marshal. A large number of assistants have been employed by the Marshal, from the first, and I am told that the expenses of the trial, both to the claimants and the Government, will be great, averaging $600 per day. The Hutchinsons, who have been singing here for a week or two past, gave a concert on Monday evening for the benefit of the fugitives, which was well attended and well received.

On Tuesday evening, an enthusiastic meeting was held by the Republicans, in Masonic Hall, to rejoice over the election of Banks and listen to statements relative to Kansas affairs. A gentleman from Kansas, and a participator in the troubles there, addressed the meeting.

The Republicans, Free Soilers and Abolitionists of *every school* here are in good spirits, full of hope and resolutely determined to persevere. The good cause in Ohio is gaining ground every day. There can be no mistake as to this. Yours, &c., P.

CINCINNATI, Feb. 8, 1856.

The Slave Case, as far as regards the claim of Mr. Marshall to three of the fugitives, was concluded yesterday, and the Commissioner remanded them to prison to await his decision, which, it is understood, will not be given until some time in next week, after the examination of the other claim shall have been heard. The trial of the claim of Mr. Gaines to the woman and her children was commenced to-day, and the examination of witnesses and arguments of counsel will occupy probably a week. Meanwhile, the Grand Jury of the County, now in session, have found bills of indictment against the woman for the murder of her child, and against the adult fugitives as accessories. The Sheriff, United States Marshal, Commissioner and counsel on both sides, held a consultation upon this state of affairs yesterday, and it was agreed that the Sheriff should allow the fugitives to be brought from the jail to the Court-room while the trial is progressing. Our Common Pleas Court is now in session, and, in all probability, the criminal case will be brought up for trial soon after the decision of the Commissioner, be that what it may. I have great confidence in the Sheriff that he will not allow the prisoners to be taken back to Kentucky until the case has had a hearing in the State Courts. The claimants have been urgent in their endeavours to get their "property" back again with as slight a delay, or examination, as possible; but the longer the matter is kept before the Courts, in this case, the better will it be for the cause of Freedom.

Some of the reports in the papers as to the difficulties between the Sheriff and United States Marshal were exaggerated. There was, it is true, some confusion resulting from their conflicting claims to the custody of the fugitives, but it was all settled amicably, without resort to violence. Some of the coloured people, much excited, attempted to hinder the removal of the fugitives from the United States Court-room to the jail, on the day of the arrest, but it passed off without mob violence or any serious disturbance. The Sheriff and Mayor Faran had a strong police force ready for any emergency. The United States Court-room, during the trial, has been densely crowded with spectators, and it was difficult for an outsider to get even within the doors. The same room, a few days since, was crowded with Irishmen deeply interested for a week in the Fillibuster case, but it is easy to see how much more real interest and sympathy is felt by *all classes* in this slave case. Every one feels that greater principles and more vital issues are involved in it.

The closing of the Ohio River with ice has made the escape of slaves a frequent occurrence. On Friday night last, another party escaped from Boone County, Ky., said to be owned by Mr. Gaines, one of the claimants in the case on trial. Last week, a party escaped from Covington (opposite this city); and such occurrences are taking place every night. In despite of the Fugitive law, there never was a time in which so many slaves escaped and found their way safely to a land of freedom. Intelligent Southern men admit this freely, and upon it ground the charge that the people of Ohio manifest a growing neglect of their "constitutional obligations" to the South. You will have seen by the papers that the subject has been brought up in our State Legislature and elicited a warm debate. It was referred to a Committee in the lower House, with instructions to report a Bill to prevent such occurrences as the late capture near this city in Ohio in future. The Democrats and compromisers of every shade laugh at the idea of our having a "Personal Liberty" Act in this State, yet these men all told us that Chase could not be elected. With such a General Assembly as was chosen last Fall, let us hope for some action of the right kind, even if not as strong as that of the Bay State. P.

## Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, 2d mo. 11th, 1856.

I SUPPOSE your regular Philadelphia correspondent, or some of his occasional surrogates, will occupy the space assigned to our "provincial" city, and I shall not, therefore, attempt a letter to you. My object in writing is to draw your attention to an article in the *Freie Presse*, a German Democratic paper of this city, a translation of which I send you. The *Free Press* is the most liberal and ably conducted of the two German papers published here, but has always been considered strongly orthodox. The appearance of such an article as a leader in its editorial columns is not an unnoteworthy "sign of the times." It appeared originally in the *San Antonio Gazette*, the German newspaper of Texas, which has excited so much fear and indignation among the slaveholders of that State.

The *Free Press* of late has shown not a little leaning towards Republicanism. In a recent article upon the proposition of *The Union*, backed by *The Pennsylvanian*, that the Democrats unite with the South Americans, by sinking subordinate differences, in support of the cardinal principle of "Union-saving," the editor exposes the hollowness of Democratic professions of regard for their "foreign fellow-citizens," when, as he says, they subordinate the question of their disenfranchisement for the sake of kneeling at the crack of the slave-whip. But to the translation. C.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

The journals of this country are talking now, more frequently than ever before, of the separation of the States into a Northern and a Southern Confederacy, and, indeed, the antagonism between the North and the South seems to have reached such a pitch that many admit the possibility of such an event in the immediate future. The answer to the question whether this dissolution is possible and probable depends mainly upon the answer to another question, viz.: What would be the ultimate consequences of such dissolution?

The two Confederacies, if once organized, could, without much difficulty, exist for a while side by side. But the separation itself could hardly be effected peaceably. The division of the public property would lead to bloody strife. Shall the military stores and the navy be divided in the ratio of the number of the inhabitants or the number of the States? How shall the Territories be divided? How the national treasure and the national debt? These are problems that could scarcely be solved save by the edge of the sword. Has not the question whether slavery shall exist in a Territory already aroused the fiercest controversy between the North and the South?

Assuming, however, that a dissolution had been peaceably accomplished, the North and the North alone would be unquestionably the gainer. She would have, it is true, a rather unfavourable geographical position, her length being too great for her breadth, but as on the longer sides no particularly dangerous neighbours would be situated, with the density and prosperity of her population, she would be strong enough for national defence. California and Oregon, Utah and Sonora would probably attach themselves to neither section, but form a third Confederacy among themselves. But instead, the North would sooner or later annex Canada, a thing utterly impossible while the Union exists. She would thus attain respectable dimensions and possess means and power sufficient for all rational purposes of a national existence. She would then be at liberty to apply the national revenue to the improvement of rivers and harbours and the construction of canals, which at present Congress denies her. She could establish a revenue system corresponding to her necessities, while the present, which should promote the diverse industrial interests of the North and South, can satisfy neither. She would then, as now, dispose of her manufactures to the South and receive from her the raw material in return—in short, she would lose next thing to nothing by the dissolution.

The South, on the other hand, would find herself much worse off. She would then miss the mutual protection which the Union now extends over her, particularly as an extremely extended sea coast and an equally extended frontier, that stands entirely defenceless, would require, with her sparse population, a doubly expensive military and naval force, which she would moreover need to prevent the increasing *fugitiveness* (Fluchtbegierde) of her slaves and their attempts at insurrection, as well as to indulge in her aggressive policy. She would conclude an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Brazil, and strive to annex Mexico and Central America.

She would assume an increasing aristocratic tendency, would deprive the poor white of the right to vote and to hold office (already an outspoken idea of the Davis Secession party), discourage European emigration, but in its place reëstablish the African slave trade. The inherent necessity of things would force the Southern Confederacy to all of these steps. The spirit of reäction knows no bounds, and the whole history of the South shows that, separated, she would fall under the dominion of reäctionists. In such a Confederacy, from its inception, lie all the germs of decay. From within and from without quarrels would arise, making her fall a question of time only. Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky and Missouri could not keep pace with the other States in reäction, for they have important interests which these have not. England would soon come into conflict with the South; and should she and her allies once succeed in landing a large army upon Southern territory and summon the slaves to rebellion, what prospect would there be left?

One must suppose that those politicians, both in the North and South, who propose a dissolution of the Union, know very well what they want. If so, then only the Northern, not the Southern, Secessionists can be in earnest; the latter only threaten therewith in order that the North may be made to concede to their demands, and only in the most desperate circumstances would they proceed energetically to fulfil their threats—a case not likely to happen, as the North loves compromise-making far too well—and the South, at the critical moment, would consider that by a dissolution she has all to lose and nothing to gain, and would, therefore, moderate her demands.

Passion will indeed rage furiously in Congress, especially if, at the next Presidential election, an Anti-Nebraska man should take the helm, but it will once more run itself into the ground (ein sande verlaufen). If Kansas knocks at the door for admission as a free State, the South, in the opposite case the North, will deny it. Thus will the decision of this and other exciting questions be postponed for years. Should, indeed, a foreign war intervene, the two sections of the Union would be cemented more closely by the common danger. If, at last, the North should become so far united as to think a dissolution a far less evil than eternal conflict within it, still the fear of a civil war that might arise in dividing the national property would postpone the event still farther. It is probable that at some period it may take place, but certainly not for many years.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, No. 612.—*Contents:* Mrs. Duberly in the War; The Measure of Hiawatha; Samuel Rogers and his Treasures; Augustine Duganne; Japan—and Voyage of the Mississippi; The Tomb in Ghent; Horses, Hunting and the Turf; Charles Dickens's Readings; Plurality of Worlds; Macaulay's New Volumes; Dr. Kane; More Opinions of Hiawatha; The Drawing-Room Sibyl; Necessity of a Peace Congress; Some Results of 1855; The Great Impostor; War or Peace; The Congress; Russian War in Asia; Postal Reform in America; Foreign Policy of Great Britain; Persia vs. The East India Company; Punch and Jonathan; Poetry; Short Articles. New York: 343 Broadway.

THREE HUNDRED FILLIBUSTERS.—The steamer Star of the West sailed for Nicaragua on Saturday last with 300 fillibusters on board.

## From our Dublin Correspondent.

THE HON. MISS MURRAY'S LETTERS—THEIR CHARACTER—PROBABLE EFFECT ON THE ABOLITIONISTS.

DUBLIN, January 18, 1856.

DEAR EDITORS: I have one very special subject at present, and that is to ask your sympathy in my perusal of the Hon. Amelia M. Murray's Letters from the United States, Cuba and Canada, in two volumes, post 8vo., pp. 600 or thereabouts, price 16 shillings. I have rarely been so anxious to see a new book. I was not even so much on the *qui vive* to read the new volumes of Macaulay. I left no stone unturned in the way of begging or borrowing till I got them, and so I have them, and they are prodigious. The Reverend Nehemiah Adams may hide his diminished head. Dr. Dewey is outstripped. Her gracious Majesty's late Maid of Honour more than once declares her preference of slavery in the South to the position of a free help in the North—thus being willing to devote her very self to her favourite institution. Nowhere have I seen the peculiar institution so heartily upheld as in these pages. The slaves are better men, better Christians, more in their places, and as God meant them to be, as slaves than as freemen. Miss Murray believes all that the most rampant slaveholders tell her of repentant runaways who entreated in vain to be taken back by the wronged masters from whom they stole themselves. In the whole matter she looks on the slaveholders as the only people to be pitied, and is quite sure that if they really believed that freedom would be better for the blacks than slavery, they have too much chivalry to allow any consideration of self-interest to interfere with immediate efforts for manumission. The most intelligent black she ever met with in the South was a free black, who thought liberty unfit for black men. One of the most intelligent blacks in Canada was a free-born Canadian, who declared that he was sorry he was not a slave. The Abolitionists are all in the wrong—the slaveholders all in the right. The best people she met with in the States, and the most devoted Christians (including several of the reverend clergy) were people who held the most ultra pro-slavery opinions, ev to a desire for the restoration of the slave trade as a means of Christianizing and civilizing the blacks, and ultimately reflecting back the light of the Gospel upon Africa. She believes that there is more vice in many a city in England, or the Northern States, than in all the Southern States put together. She is charmed with Bishop Polk, charmed with Bishop Elliott, intimate with the President, looks on the Whigs as narrow-minded Tories, and the Democrats as the only true, enlightened and consistent Republicans. Oh! dear Editors, I pray you, get this book and read it. After all I have told you, you will still hardly believe your eyes. This book will become a text-book at the South, and will circulate free from abridgement or excision by any of the Northern publishers or religious societies. Everybody who wishes to travel safely in South Carolina should be armed with the Hon. Amelia M. Murray's volumes. They will be a hundred times safer, more tutelary and more portable than bowie-knives or Colt's latest improvements. When I go South, I mean to take several copies—one copy in each trunk or carpet-bag. If I lose one, I shall have another left. I can make presents of them to my hospitable entertainers, and they will surely set me down as a man of correct principles. Throughout all the book you would suppose that no negro ever felt anything heavier than a rod such as our grandfathers used for the correction of our fathers when in petticoats.

The separation of mothers and children is denied in its pages.

The separation of families is barely hinted at as a slight evil, of no greater magnitude than the separations caused by poverty in Great Britain, where the members of a family go different ways to seek their fortunes.

Nothing of cowhides.

Nothing of bloodhounds.

Nothing of Fugitive Slave laws, that I have yet seen, for I have not finished my feast.

Much of the calumny, misrepresentation and rashness of Mrs. Stowe.

Nothing of the demoralizing influence of slavery.

Nothing of the absence of marriage.

Nothing of the refusal of education.

Nothing of forced amalgamation.

To hear Miss Murray, you would suppose all the "darkies" were black, and that no such men as Frederick Douglass, or Wm. Wells Brown, or C. Lenox Remond, or Robert Purvis, ever existed.

The book is written as if by a high-minded, conscientious an, and all our previous notions of natural right and the aims of manhood over the brutes are set aside with the maj case of a Superior Intelligence.

However the Duchess of Sutherland may have offended the South, has not this scion of the Ducal House of Athall, formerly the Royal Family of the Isle of Man, brought much more than ample healing to their wounds? Let no more be said against the British aristocracy. Here is a genuine-born honourable lady, bred in the lap of luxury, and amidst the blaze of the Nineteenth Century, who gives her own testimony of what she has seen with her eyes of the benefits of the Peculiar Institution, socially, morally, religiously, poetically, enjoyably, presently, prospectively and eternally. Let every Abolitionist buy and study Miss Murray as an antidote to Mrs. Stowe, and let Mrs. Stowe herself never read any books but Miss Murray's henceforth and forever. Let her always read them, a volume in each hand, as some small penance for the sins she has wantonly committed against the poor dear, innocent, high-minded, chivalrous, unoffending or far more sinned against than sinning slaveholders.

"Du tell," I pray ye, whether Garrison has read these books; what Phillips has to say of them; what Mrs. Chapman thinks of them; whether Mrs. Follen is rejoiced with them; whether Whittier has sung of them or Lucretia Mott preached of them. Have they floored Theodore Parker, or silenced Stephen Foster, or convinced Abby Kelley, or converted Samuel May, or made Doctor Gannett perfectly happy, or blunted the arrows of Edmund Quincy.

I wish to know, as soon as possible, whether you have disbanded, sold your type and presses, shut up your office and made up your minds all together to turn Democrats and do your best to bring in Frank Pierce at the next Presidential election. Who knows but you may get promotion, and that the next news may be the account of Garrison's progress through the South, at the expense of the Southern Governments, clad in sackcloth and ashes, and making a tour of public repentance!

The last news that reached me which would be likely to interest you (besides the publication of Miss Murray's books) is that George Thompson is now steaming up the Mediterranean, on his way to India, on what mission or with what object I have not heard. I heard the account to-day, in a letter from a near relative of his own.

Ever yours truly, RICHARD D. WEBB.

### ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS.

THE Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society have issued the following Tracts for gratuitous distribution:

No. 1. THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION, EXAMINED.
No. 2. WHITE SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.
No. 3. COLONIZATION. By Rev. O. B. Frothingham.
No. 4. DOES SLAVERY CHRISTIANIZE THE NEGRO? By Rev. T. W. Higginson.
No. 5. THE INTER-STATE SLAVE TRADE. By John G. Palfrey.
No. 6. THE "RUIN" OF JAMAICA. By Richard Hildreth.
No. 7. REVOLUTION THE ONLY REMEDY FOR SLAVERY.
No. 8. TO MOTHERS IN THE FREE STATES. By Mrs. E. L. Follen.
No. 9. INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY UPON THE WHITE POPULATION. By a Lady.
No. 10. SLAVERY AND THE NORTH. By C. C. Burleigh.
No. 11. DISUNION OUR WISDOM AND OUR DUTY. By Rev. Charles E. Hodges.
No. 12. ANTI-SLAVERY HYMNS AND SONGS. By Mrs. E. L. Follen.
No. 13. THE TWO ALTARS; OR, TWO PICTURES IN ONE. By Mrs. Harriet B. Stowe.
No. 14. "HOW CAN I HELP TO ABOLISH SLAVERY?" OR, COUNSELS TO THE NEWLY CONVERTED. By Maria W. Chapman.
No. 15. WHAT HAVE WE, AS INDIVIDUALS, TO DO WITH SLAVERY? By Susan C. Cabot.
No. 16. THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY; AND ITS POLICY OF SUPPRESSION AND SILENCE. Being the Unanimous Remonstrance of the Fourth Congregational Society, Hartford, Ct.
No. 17. THE GOD OF THE BIBLE AGAINST SLAVERY. By Rev. Charles Beecher.

All donations for the Tract Fund, or for the circulation of any particular Tract of the above series, should be sent to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

*Fifty dollars* will stereotype an eight-page tract, and print *five thousand copies of it.*

Application for the above Tracts, for gratuitous distribution, should be made to SAMUEL MAY, JR., 21 Cornhill, Boston; to the Anti-Slavery Offices, 138 Nassau street, New York, and 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia; to JOEL MCMILLAN, Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio; or to JACOB WALTON, JR., Adrian, Michigan.

OHIO UNITED STATES SENATOR.—The Republican members of the Ohio Legislature have agreed to postpone the nomination of a candidate for U. S. Senator, to succeed Hon. B. F. Wade, till the 27th inst. It is believed that Mr. Wade's friends are a majority, but certain ambitious Know-Nothings are labouring to defeat him.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND will deliver the next Lecture in the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Course, in Sansom Street Hall, this (Saturday) evening. His subject will be "Prejudice against Colour." This topic is the one of all others best calculated to enlist Mr. Remond's fine oratorical powers, and we hope he may have a full house.

## Summary.

Five Thousand, Four Hundred and Twenty-Six women of Philadelphia appended their names to a remonstrance against the repeal of the Liquor law of Pennsylvania. The remonstrance, on being unrolled by the Senate, reached entirely across the hall.

Mr. John S. C. Abbott has received from the Emperor of France a rich gold medal, and a letter in acknowledgment of the Emperor's appreciation of Mr. Abbott's History of Napoleon, a copy of which the author had transmitted to his Majesty through the Hon. Mr. Mason, our Minister in Paris.

FEAT OF AN ELEPHANT.—The *Charleston Evening News* understands that the elephant which was lost overboard from a vessel bound to that port made its way safely into Mount Pleasant Harbour! The vessel was thirty miles out at sea, and a heavy gale was blowing when the elephant went overboard. Its feat of riding out the storm is, we suppose, the most remarkable instance of animal strength and endurance on record.

THE BROOKLYN ATHENÆUM.—At a recent election for officers of this Association, held at the Athenæum building, Atlantic street, six of the Board of Directors, composing the Lecture Committee of last year, were ousted from office. The reported cause for their removal is that they invited, among other lecturers, a Fanatic, an Infidel, an Abolitionist, and a Universalist—supposed to refer to H. W. Beecher, R. W. Emerson, Horace Mann, and E. H. Chapin.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.—A desperate effort is making to re-establish the institution of the gallows in Wisconsin. The effort, however, is gallantly resisted by the friends of humanity, and we hope it will not succeed. The masterly argument of WENDELL PHILLIPS, delivered last Winter before the Massachusetts Legislature, appeared at length in the Milwaukee *Free Democrat*, a few days since, and cannot fail to have great weight with those who read it.

Revolution follows revolution in Mexico with startling rapidity. It is not three months since the final overthrow of Santa Ana's government and the establishment of that of Comonfort; and already a new movement is on foot to oust the latter because of its "liberalism," and to return to despotism, the tyranny of the army, the clergy and the dictatorship. The fickle populace seem as ready for re-action now as for emancipation a few months since. Haro Y Tamarei leads the new revolutionary party.

Rev. Mr. Wasson, pastor of the Free Church in this city, during the temporary absence of Rev. Mr. Higginson, preached a powerful discourse, on Sunday, Feb. 3, in reference to the condition of affairs in Kansas. He said that the man who armed himself with a Sharp's rifle, and planted a bullet in the heart of any border ruffian, who was seeking to thwart the wishes of its legitimate inhabitants, who were seeking to make it a free State, was in the line of duty—seeking to have God's will done upon earth, even as it is done in Heaven.—*Worcester (Mass.) Spy.*

PARALYTIC PREACHING.—Rev. Sydney Smith asked of the dead preaching of his day:

"Why are we natural everywhere but in the pulpit? No man expresses warm and animated feelings anywhere else, with his mouth alone, but with his whole body; he articulates with every limb, and talks from head to foot with a thousand voices. Why this holoplexia on sacred occasions alone? Why call in the aid of paralysis to piety? Is it a rule of oratory to balance the style against the subject, and to handle most sublime truths in the dullest language and driest manner? Is sin to be taken from men, as Eve was from Adam, by casting them into a deep slumber?"

DEAD LETTERS.—During the last quarter nearly one and a half millions of dead letters were opened at the General Post-Office. 3,000 letters contained money to the amount of $18,000, of which seven-eighths has been restored to its owners; the remainder being transmitted agreeably to the regulations of the department. Foreign letters are remailed to the places whence they came. The wreck of epistles, with the scattering of envelopes in the dead letter room, where a number of men are employed in breaking seals, but not in reading letters without money, presents a spectacle worthy of the stranger's visit. Old men of integrity do this work.—*Cor. N.Y. Observer.*

The *point* and *truth* of the following epigram will be perfectly understood by our readers when we inform them that John M. Botts, of Virginia, has been named by several Know-Nothing Councils of the United States as the proper candidate of that party for the Presidency.

EPIGRAM.—The *Boston Post* perpetrates the following upon Botts and the Know-Nothings:

"D'ye think," quoth Ned, "that *Botts* will please
The Northern Hindoo masses?"
"I think," quoth Jim, "a horse disease
Is good enough for asses."

COBB ON EMIGRATION TO KANSAS.—We take the following from the *Journal's* report of Howell Cobb's speech at Concord, N. H.:

"He then referred to the doctrine of intervention, and said that if there had been no interference from outside, there would now be no disturbance in the Territory. [The reporter understood the speaker as alluding to the Emigrant Aid Society."]

Exactly, Mr. Cobb. If no free State settlers had gone to Kansas, no Missouri ruffians would have gone there to murder or expel them. Cobb is as "clear as mud."—*Bost. Telegraph.*

MOVEMENT OF COLOURED PEOPLE.—A delegation of the coloured citizens of Cincinnati, consisting of Messrs. John J. Gaines, Peter H. Clark, and William Downs, recently visited Columbus, with a view to confer with the members of the General Assembly upon the propriety of the passage of a law to permit the coloured people to elect the directors of the schools supported by themselves and attended by their children. The delegates were well received and listened to indulgently by gentlemen from various parts of the State, and the prospect is that the petition which they bore, signed by a very large number of the most intelligent coloured people of Cincinnati, and many white citizens of respectability, will be responded to by the legislation desired.

The *Concord Independent Democrat* says that Mr. Hale did not offer to shake hands with the President at the White House, and therefore Gen. Pierce did not have the opportunity of refusing to perform that ceremony. Mr. Hale went to the White House, not to pay his respects to the President, for he does not owe him anything of the kind. Some country cousins of Mr. Hale wanted to see the man who vetoed the French Spoliation bill, signed the Nebraska bill and bombarded Greytown. Mr. Hale, misled by his courteous feelings, instead of dissuading them from going to see what was not worth seeing, conducted them into the presence. He made no advance to the President, and, fortunately for Mr. Hale, the President made no advance to him.—*Boston Atlas.*

IMPROVED FIRE ARMS.—The Worcester *Spy* states that Eli Thayer, the Agent of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, has invented and is manufacturing in that place fire arms, said to be greatly superior to Sharp's. They can be loaded more rapidly than Sharp's, and will carry a two ounce ball or slug with greater precision for a mile. They load at the breech. Common United States muskets can be applied with the improvement, and furnished complete with bayonets, by the wholesale, at $12 apiece. Thayer's rifles are sold only to Free State men. The *Spy* says that, from the activity which prevails in the workshop, and the rapidity with which the work is being executed, it doubts not that the first opening of navigation will find the Free State men of Kansas even better prepared to resist aggression upon their rights than ever before.

ANOTHER ESCAPE OF SLAVES.—There seems to be a determination to make Mr. Gaines, the citizen of Boone County, Ky., who claims four of the present party of fugitives, realize the fact that negroes can run away. We learn from good authority that four more of his slaves escaped from his plantation last night, and, as yet, their whereabouts has not been discovered. It is supposed, however, that they are still in Kentucky, under the protection of an agent of the Underground Railroad. In fact, it is quite certain they have not yet crossed the river. The party consists of two women, a man and small child. Out of eleven slaves, Mr. Gaines has now but three, and, to judge from late events, there is no telling how long he can rely upon their services. He is now and has been for several days in this city, attending to the present prosecution.—*Cincinnati Times.*

VIRGINIA MEANNESS.—In 1850, a capitation tax was levied upon the free negroes of Virginia, in order to raise funds for the colonization of Africa, of all who are willing to go. Fifty thousand dollars have thus been extorted—a large sum of money to be levied upon the property of those poor and depressed people. What has been done with it? Every cent of it has gone into the State treasury, and has been spent! And this is the honour of slaveholders! This is the chivalry of Virginia! A great State robs a down-trodden race, under the pretence that it is done to promote a philanthropic object, and divides the plunder among its office-holders! So much for the magnanimity of arrogant Southern *white* men. We have heard of shameless meanness before; but never of anything so unblushing as this.—*Cleveland Leader.*

DR. LORD'S IDEAS OF HUMANITY.—Rev. Nathan Lord, D.D., the venerable President of Dartmouth College, lectured on Tuesday evening before the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association, on "The Other Side." His object was to show that man is not improving, as most persons suppose, but, on the contrary, is deteriorating, passing down from youth and manhood to old age. He sought to prove that, in physical strength, in wealth, in beauty, in intellect, and in virtue, we are inferior to the men of earlier ages. There was in the lecture a great deal of learning and logic, of rhetoric and wit, with a little, as we thought, of overcolouring and sophistry at times. But, on the whole, it was unusually interesting and suggestive. We regret that we have not room for a full report.—*Cincinnati Chr. Herald.*

UNCONSTITUTIONAL.—Everything that facilitates the escape of slaves has been pronounced, we believe, unconstitutional. In this view of the case, we allege the freezing over of the Ohio River as decidedly unconstitutional, and we would call the attention of Congress to this matter. It breaks down one of the middle walls of partition between slavery and the Gentile land of freedom, and slaves are availing themselves of this unconstitutional freak of the weather and river, and making their escape without any compunctions of conscience. We hear rumours of numerous escapes, and so insecure is slave property regarded now that many masters near the river are sending their slaves into the interior for sale or safe-keeping. The moral character of Jack Frost and the tendency of his actions need investigation. The lynchers of Brady should examine into this matter, as it is doing more against the peculiar institution than he ever did. Where is Shawshawshearem and the rest of the Pottowatomies?—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

COMPARATIVE LONGEVITY OF WHITES AND BLACKS.—The Southern *Medical Journal* of February, referring to the mortality statistics of the late census, remarks:

These documents sustain the general impression that the African lives longer than the Caucasian race, one hundred whites and one hundred and forty-eight blacks being reported as having died of old age. Although we do not mean to deny the correctness of the received opinion, we yet believe that it is exaggerated. Age has advantages to the negro which are not experienced by the whites, and its immunities are generally claimed by the slave long before his master would think of resting from *his* labours. Hence it is that very many of our slaves, when sixty years of age, imagine and declare that they are eighty or ninety, and are accordingly indulged with an exemption from farther compulsory labour. Many of the citizens of this place may recollect "old daddy Quash," who averred, apparently in good faith, that he was so old that when he arrived here from Africa, the Savannah river was so small a stream that he could "step over it!" He thought himself *one hundred and fifty* years of age, but was probably not more than ninety-five when he died.

THE CHURCHMAN AND QUEEN VICTORIA.—The *Churchman* of this city devotes two columns to the denunciation of Queen Victoria. The Queen has done something so MONSTROUS that the *Churchman* thinks she has forfeited her crown; nay, worse, she ought to be excommunicated from the Church of which she is the Head! Dreadful deed! and yet, the usual organs of public intelligence have not alluded to the subject, and the British empire goes on quite in the ordinary way. What is Queen Victoria's crime? What is that deed of dreadful note which ought to deprive her both of the crown that encircles her mortal brows and of that Heavenly one for which she hopes and prays? Hear it, all ye Christian people. Queen Victoria has actually *attended a Presbyterian church, liked the sermon she heard there, and caused its publication!* Does not the reader's blood run cold? Think of it; a woman and a queen, sojourning in Scotland, goes on Sunday to one of its national churches; hears there a sermon which she thinks calculated to do good to all classes of her subjects, and "commands" the clergyman to publish it! For this, says the *Churchman*, let her be excommunicated! This terrible sermon, strange to relate, is amusingly popular in England. The London *Times* praises it; the *Examiner* extols the queen for liking it; the press almost universally commends it. We read it ourselves with unsuspecting admiration. It is entitled "The Religion of Common Life"; the text being: "Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."—*N. Y. Life Illustrated.*

"BARKIS IS WILLIN."—We once heard of a man who stuck to it that crows were good to eat. One was brought to him cooked, and he sat down to discuss it. After chewing at a few mouthfuls for a while, his friend, who questioned the palateableness of that sort of game, asked him how it tasted and if he liked it?

"Why, yes," was the somewhat hesitating reply; "I like it, but I don't hanker after it."

This is precisely the reply which we suppose Mr. Buchanan would be understood as making in the following letter to a friend, in relation to his pretensions to the Presidency, which appears in the *Pennsylvanian* of the 5th instant:

"You refer to the connection of my name with the Presidency. * * * This I neither desired nor expected. The movement in my favour has, therefore, originated without my previous knowledge or consent, and I should be quite satisfied should another be selected.

"The next will be the most important and responsible Presidential term since the last war with England, or, perhaps, since the origin of the government. Both our foreign and our domestic affairs will require the guidance of an able, firm and skilful pilot, to steer the vessel of State clear of the breakers. I pray Heaven that the best man may be selected for the crisis, and to me it is a matter of indifference whether he comes from the North or the South, the East or the West."—*Eve. Post.*

FREE AND SLAVE.—The Chicago *Press* relates the following circumstance which had recently come to its knowledge, illustrating the pecuniary advantage of Freedom over Slavery:

A very intelligent gentleman, who owned a large, well-improved, excellent farm, just south of the dividing line between Iowa and Missouri, for some cause was anxious to sell his farm and escape from the blessed influences (?) of the "peculiar institution." A few weeks since, a Massachusetts farmer was in that section looking for a farm. After examining several, he stumbled upon the one of our Missouri gentleman and was greatly pleased with it. Its location and buildings were all right; the improvements were all he could expect in a new country; and on learning the price, $4 per acre, he at once closed the bargain, and the attorney was called in to make out the deed. He commenced writing, and when he came to "—— of the State of Missouri, of the first part"—"Stop," said the Yankee, in astonishment; "you need not write any more, sir. Is this farm in the State of Missouri?" "Certainly," replied the seller, "and is the land any the less productive on that account?" "By no means," said the Yankee, "but I don't want it, sir." "Why," said the seller, "those farms in this neighbourhood which you have examined, with no better land and improvements than mine, are held at from ten to fifteen dollars per acre; the best of them cannot be bought one cent less than the highest price named." "That may all be very true," said the Yankee, "and I would prefer to give twenty dollars an acre for them rather than to have yours as a gift, and be forced to live on it. I will not live in a slave State on any terms. Good bye, gentlemen," and away went the Yankee farmer to buy a farm in the Free and noble State of Iowa.

NEGROES VOTING IN THE SOUTH.—A New Orleans correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, writing from that city, under date of the 12th ult., says:

A circumstance has just come to light which is likely to prove an awful disgrace to the State of Louisiana, and will undoubtedly lead to the contesting of a seat in the Legislature. Away up Red river, in the neighbourhood of a place called the "Ten Mile Precinct," it seems a number of free citizens, peaceable, industrious planters, but well known to be tinctured with negro blood (O shame!), were allowed to vote at the State election. It seems from the account in the papers that in 1838 "three of them, to all appearance white men, were allowed to vote! this was the commencement of the coloured franchise." At the late election, not counting these "to all appearance white" coloured men, the parties were about equally divided; but on the day of election the Democrats, always up to snuff, brought them all out, "with a flag flying," marched them up to the polls and made them vote! And "the only justification given for the act was that these kinky-headed vagabonds had as good a right to vote as their straight-haired relatives." The paper adds, that "every man who knows these men feels and knows it to be a burning shame that they should be allowed to vote!" But why shouldn't they vote? They are native-born citizens, educated, intelligent, I am told, many of them owners of plantations and slaves, and the same paper says "they were and are quiet, orderly and well-behaved—interfering with no one, and generally well treated by their neighbouring planters." By their votes, it is said, Mr. Andrews was elected to the Legislature over Mr. Boyce; and Mr. Boyce is going to test the legality of the matter. It will then be decided whether these kinky-headed cousins have or have not as good a right to vote as their straight-haired cousins. An important question, and one that must be settled before the South can grumble any more at Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio, for allowing certain of their coloured population to vote.

A SPICY LETTER.—The Rev. John Chambers, of Philadelphia—a Democrat who approves all the pro-slavery measures of his party, the Fugitive Slave law included—is, strangely enough, a Temperance man, as the following letter to a member of the Legislature will show:

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 24, 1856.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I see from the papers that the *Democrats* have passed on second reading a bill to repeal the restraining liquor law, and it is expected that to-day the bill will pass the House of Representatives.

Now, let me propose to you, and through you to our party, that they forthwith pass a bill requiring the County Commissioners of each County in the State to have erected, or placed at all the cross-roads, a trough, well and constantly supplied with whiskey and lager, that the thirsty, whiskey-drinking Democrats may have their fill. The County need not be at the expense of fencing in the troughs, for there is not a *hog* in the old Keystone so far lost to respect for his honourable *hogship* as to put his snout within more than smelling distance of the vile drug.

It does seem to me as though the Democrats were resolved that all the evils of intemperance shall be entailed upon this land perpetually. It is to me most galling and mortifying that the political party which I consider the true party of the country should so identify itself with rum, rags and ruin.

My Dear Sir, I most deeply regret that you, as a father and a good citizen, should lend your aid to the vile traffic. It matters not, in my judgment, how much of the rumsellers' money may pass from their pockets to those of the Democratic members. Now, allow me to ask you, as an honest, clever fellow, have *you ever* known *any good* result to the individual, the family, or to the community, from rum-drinking? Give me *one* example in which rum-drinking has reformed *one* man. For thirty years, I have been asking for this example, but thus far in vain. Will you do me the favour to ask the Democratic members for one example. I ask it from the Democratic members of the Legislature, because it is evident to *all* who will see that they are the friends of rum, and that rum is their friend. Surely they can say something good of their old friend. I presume Hughy will have high mass performed for all the precious whiskey-loving souls in the Legislature. I trust in God that there is humanity enough in the Senate to stay the burning wrongs of the House. Yours, truly, JOHN CHAMBERS.

## Special Notices.

☞ The Post Office address of AARON M. POWELL will be Detroit, Mich., care of William D. Cochrane, until March 4th.

☞ A Stated Meeting of the Clarkson Society will be held at West Grove (Friends' Meeting-house) on Seventh day, the 23d inst., at 1 o'clock, P. M.

LIZZIE COATES, Rec. Sec'y.

☞ MEETINGS IN MICHIGAN.—AARON M. POWELL, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings in Oakland and Macomb Counties, as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Rochester, | Saturday and Sunday, | Feb. 16, 17. |
| Romeo, | Tuesday and Wednesday, | " 19, 20. |
| Ray, | Thursday and Friday, | " 21, 22. |
| Utica, | Saturday and Sunday, | " 23, 24. |
| Troy, | Tuesday and Wednesday, | " 26, 27. |
| Birmingham, | Thursday and Friday, | " 28, 29. |
| Royal Oak, | Saturday and Sunday, | March 1, 2. |

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# Miscellaneous Department.

From The Tribune.

## THE SLAVE TRAGEDY AT CINCINNATI.

BY MRS. MARY [illegible] LIVERMORE.

Bright the Sabbath sun is shining through the clear and frosty air,
Solemnly the bells are calling to the house of praise and prayer;
And, with hearts devout and holy, thither many wend their way,
To renew to God their pledges——but I cannot go to-day.

For my soul is sick and saddened with that fearful tale of woe,
Which has blanched the cheeks of mothers to the whiteness of the snow;
And my thoughts are wand'ring ever where the prison walls surround
The parents and their children, in hopeless bondage bound.

Oh, thou mother, maddened, frenzied, when the hunter's toils ensnared
Thee and thy brood of nestlings, till thy anguished spirit dared
Send to God, uncalled, one darling life that round thine own did twine—
Worthy of a Spartan mother was that fearful deed of thine!

Worthy of the Roman father, who sheathed deep his flashing knife
In the bosom of Virginia, in the current of her life!
Who, rather than his beauteous child should live a tyrant's slave,
Opened the way to freedom through the portals of the grave!

Well I know no stronger yearning than a mother's love can be—
I could do and dare forever for the babe upon my knee!
And I feel no deeper sorrow could the light of life eclipse,
Than to see death's shadows settle on its brow and faded lips.

Yet (oh, God of Heaven, forgive me!), baby sitting on my knee,
I could close thy blue eyes calmly, smiling now so sweet on me!
Ay, *my* hand could ope the casket, and thy precious soul set free:
Better for thee death and Heaven than a life of slavery!

And before the Judge Eternal, this should be my anguished plea:
"They would rob my child of Manhood; so, uncalled, I sent it Thee!
"Hope, and Love, and Joy, and Knowledge, and her every right they crave;
"So I gave her what they left her—her inheritance—the grave!"

[illegible]e Lord would judge between us, oh ye men of stony [h]eart!
[illegible]gainst the strong and mighty, for the weak He taketh part;
[illegible] ye, hunters of His children, bowed beneath your iron rod,
[illegible] your heel upon their heart-pulse, this ye do unto your God!

But the day of vengeance cometh—He will set his people free,
Though He lead them, like his Israel, through a red and bloody sea;
For the tears and gore of bondmen, staining deep the frighted sod,
And the wailing cry of millions riseth daily up to God!

Auburn, N. Y., Sunday, Feb. 3, 1856.

## SIGNOR MASONI.

FROM THE PRIVATE PAPERS OF THE LATE MR. BROWN.

(A FANTASY PIECE.)

Copyright secured according to law for Dwight's Journal of Music.*

Are other people as much troubled as I am by the sight of faces, which they think they ought to know, but cannot by any effort tell why? cannot recall when or where they have seen them before? I suppose, phrenologically speaking, the extent of this annoyance in my case is owing to a very great development of the perceptive over the other mental faculties. A face catches my eye, at church or in a concert. It disturbs me until the exercises are over, for my thoughts will dwell upon it, and yet the chances are that the person is one with whom on some occasion I have ridden a few miles upon the railroad; perhaps I have met him recently in society—and just as likely, I may have known him years ago familiarly. When I first went to Leipzig in the year 1848, I met such a person, as I was crossing the open place between the University and the Post-office. He was a young man, singularly beautiful, but of a manly, noble beauty, a little above middle size, elegantly though not richly dressed, and one whose dark hair and eyes spoke of Italy. His prepossessing appearance first caught my eye, and then came the feeling that I either had known him or seen him under circumstances fitted to impress his memory strongly upon me. Each time I met him, whether in the street, at the opera, or in the concert room, the impression was strengthened, until I quite disliked to meet him.

One day during the Christmas holidays a party of the American, with a few German and English, musical students, too far from home to assemble round the Christmas tree, were taking coffee at Fetsche's, after dinner, when the conversation naturally turned upon home, the festivities of the season, and the different regard in which the Americans, to whom it is no national festival, hold Christmas, from the English and Germans.

"For my part," said Smith, the Englishman, "I had rather be [illegible] days now than a month at any other seaso[n] [illegible]

"Ach! [illegible] ould like to be in Königsberg," interrupted [illegible] mesake, Schmidt.

"We des[illegible] Puritans in America," said I, "have none [illegible] s about Christmas, but oh! I would give [illegible] o recall my family from their graves, and [illegible] and mother, brother and sister, once more [illegible] t table of a New England Thanksgivi[ng] [illegible]

"What i[illegible] several voices.

"It is si[illegible] festival of the North-Eastern American S[illegible] ne day, with religious services expressive o[illegible] titude for the bounties of harvest, and closing with a family feast and merry-making. The custom is now more than two hundred years old, and thoroughly incorporated into our New England life."

"There goes a poor fellow over the way," said Wenzler, one of the oldest of the German students, "who always wears a funeral face at Christmas. I should like to know what it means."

It was the man whose face had so haunted me. "Who is that?" asked I eagerly.

"He? Signor Masoni, the violinist," said Wilkins. "I wish, Brown, you could hear him play. It is astonishing! But he is a queer fellow. He comes up into my room sometimes and plays so that I cannot get over the effect for a week. How he does it, what there is in his playing which takes such hold of me, I am sure I cannot tell. But so it is."

"But can you tell me nothing about him? His face has haunted me for a month past. I am sure I must have known him somewhere; and yet perhaps not. I met a man once at an out-of-the-way place on our great Lake Superior, who was sure he had known me before, and I was equally sure that he was an old acquaintance of mine; but we could not make out that we had ever been within a hundred and fifty miles of each other!"

"Ask Wenzler; he knows more about him than any other one of us," said Wilkins.

"It is now about five years," said Wenzler, "since Father Gutmann, an old German music teacher, came here from Paris, after long wanderings in Italy, France, England, America, and nobody knows where all, bringing the young man with him. Some said he was his son, though the old man was never married—others that he had found him in very poor circumstances, and was so struck with the young fellow's genius as to adopt him and finally bring him to Leipzig to put him under Mendelssohn, having first taught him all he knew of music. His genius and talents are truly marvellous—particularly as a violinist. There is nothing which he cannot play. The most difficult violin sonatas of Bach, his chaconnes and violin fugues, he plays with just as much ease as the fantasias and romances of De Beriot and Mayseder. The only violinist that can compare with him is young Joachim."

"Is he a pupil of the Conservatory?"

"No; Mendelssohn, after giving him a thorough examination, advised Father Gutmann to employ the very best instructors possible, and have him taught under his own eye. Nobody ever worked so hard; not in music alone, but in all sorts of studies, to make up for a deficient early education. The old man was obliged to force him to take the necessary exercise and relaxation."

"But why do you call him Signor?"

"O, the title gradually fixed itself upon him, I suppose owing to the cast of his features, and, as we gradually became familiar with him, we came to calling him so to his face. It is noteworthy that he never talks about himself, never refers to his early life. He is one of the best-hearted fellows in the world—there is but one thing that ever starts him off his balance, and that is saying a word against Father Gutmann. He will never hear a word even against the old man's Art—and, Heaven knows, Gutmann's music is odd enough! They say he lived a long time in an American log house in the forest all alone, that he might hear no music but that of nature, and write accordingly. It is a fact, though, that some of his music, when Masoni plays it, has a most singularly powerful effect of some kind. Whether the old man brought him from that log house, nobody knows."

"Strange, strange that his face is so familiar to me, and it is quite impossible for me ever to have seen him! He bears probably a striking resemblance to some long forgotten acquaintance of academy or college days. But go on."

"Smith and Wilkins both think English is his mother tongue, though he has some peculiarities of speech."

"Yes," said Smith, "slight peculiarities, which are neither cockney nor provincial—I supposed them American."

"They are not American, so far as my experience goes, nor such as I have heard as prevailing at the West," said Wilkins. "But he has greatly changed since Father Gutmann died."

"When did he die?"

"A little more than a year [illegible]ce, but that event did not cut off his kindness to Masoni, for having no kith or kin, he made him b[y] will heir to his little property of four or five thousand thalers. Down to that time Masoni had lived but to work; but the death—rather sudden—of his guardian father, parent by adoption, or whatever he was, almost killed him, and he has never taken to study again as before. After Mendelssohn died, there was no longer any one here to whom he really looked up as to a great artist, and the loss of Father Gutmann seems to have left him with no spur to exertion. He no longer mingles in our society as much as formerly, and when he is with us he is quite another man. He seems to be ever brooding over something; to be out of his element; to need some one to lean upon and look up to. In fact, none of us can quite make him out."

"It is an odd story," returned I. "So you don't see much of him?"

"Not much. Smith called upon him the other day."

"Yes," said Smith, "and he played for half an hour like a young devil. He puzzles me as much as he does all the rest. Sometimes he is as proud as a lord, then again the best fellow in the world, and occasionally as humble as a slave."

"Well," said I, "I must make his acquaintance, if I can, if for no other reason than to free myself from being so haunted by his face."

"There will be no difficulty in that," said Smith, and the conversation turned.

I soon made the desired acquaintance, and, as I took care not to press upon any tender spot, never sought to intrude upon any secret he might have, and, moreover, as it was in my power to impart various information, which he eagerly acquired, Masoni quite attached himself to me.

Something evidently weighed upon his mind. It showed itself, however, mainly in a want of self-confidence and reliance upon the result of his own observations and reflections; as though he distrusted his own judgment, or was fearful of exposing ignorance even upon topics with which in fact he was familiar. He seemed generally to shrink from observation, but, when excited and led to rely upon his own strength, he often astonished us by the depth and clearness of his thoughts. At times I was reminded of men who have begun late to study, and whose college course has not been sufficient to fully ground them in that wide-spread range of scientific and literary knowledge necessary to the finished scholar. This, however, was to be expected after what I had been told of his history. Besides this, I could see in him that peculiarity of demeanor which belongs to very sensitive persons, who do not feel sure of their social position; as if they were inclosed by a thin stratum of a repellant atmosphere, with which they involuntarily surround themselves and which is to them a source of real misery in itself, as well as because it prevents a free and hearty intercourse with others. As I became more and more acquainted with him, the conviction that I had seen him before strengthened. But all efforts to solve the mystery proving futile, I contented myself with the reflection that time would wear away the feeling or that some accident would reveal the secret.

Of his violin playing I had not heard too much. It was truly extraordinary, and this not so much because of the remarkable degree of perfection which he had reached in the technics of the art as on account of the soul which he infused into it. Sometimes of an evening, when half a dozen of us were together, for he now was again much in our society, and the conversation flagged, we would ask him to play; turning the lamps down to a half twilight, he would give us an hour's music, frequently of a most heterogeneous succession of pieces, but invariably leaving us in a singularly pensive mood, so that we would quietly take our hats the moment he ended, and, with a simple "good night," go away.

I encouraged him to begin again in earnest to work, especially in the cultivation of his mind, and gave him three or four hours a week of instruction in branches of knowledge in which he was deficient; or rather, I should say, in reducing what he had evidently learned in haste—"crammed," as the college phrase is—to order and method. It was a curious study to me to mark what a mass of undigested book learning he had collected and stowed away in his memory, and this soon led me to set him to reading some of the better works of fiction of the day, requiring him to note allusions to other books, as well as to scientific and historical facts, for discussion and explanation at our hours of study. We found Dickens almost valueless in this respect, for one seems to have all his library at command after reading "Mother Goose's Melodies," "The Arabian Nights," "Jack the Giant-killer," and a few other works of like character. On the other hand, Bulwer proved eminently serviceable. I know no author whose romances pre-suppose so extensive a knowledge of literature on the part of the reader. "The Last Days of Pompeii," "Eugene Aram," "Maltravers" and "Alice" gave us topics of conversation for many weeks. I put him also into Shakspeare, and, though he was rather hard reading for him at first, he soon became deeply interested, and before we parted in the Spring he had formed quite a little library of works, which would enable him to pursue the study of the Great Poet with advantage. Four months wrought wonders with Masoni.

There were moments when he seemed on the point of telling me his history, and yet, whenever this was the case, he would suddenly shrink back, as if afraid of the effect of what he might say upon me. I would not have it thought I had systematically cultivated his acquaintance for the purpose of robbing him of his secret. God forbid! I had come to cherish a deep affection for him; an affection deeply and gratefully returned.

"What is it, Masoni? What troubles you so?" said I once to him with a smile, as a certain expression, now familiar to me, passed over his features. He gave me a half-frightened look, and, after a moment's hesitation, answered, "nothing."

Before leaving Leipzig, I talked with him seriously about his prospects and the necessity of his doing something. In closing a conversation, I asked: "Why do you not appear in public? With your genius and acquirements, you could at once win fame."

"I cannot! I cannot!" said he, "I tried it once. I had long and carefully prepared myself, but when I came forward and saw the crowd of upturned faces, and all eyes directed to me, I was seized with what the actors call "stage fright" and almost fainted. I suppose I must have played decidedly well, but it was all a hideous nightmare to me, and I remember nothing of it at all, except that crowd of faces seeming to spread out into infinity, and at last a burst of applause, as I fled. I never think of appearing in public as a virtuoso without a shudder!"

"I know that horrible feeling, too, Masoni; I was once engaged to speak in public, and wrought myself into a state of such nervous excitement in preparation that I became dumb before my audience; and since that, fever can appal me in its delirium by no other such horrible picture as when it recalls that scene. I sympathize with you too much to urge you to any such step at present. But do you do something, and not use up the small legacy left you by Father Gutmann. You are no longer a student, but a man, a master. Enter some orchestra; give lessons; compose; go into society; improve all your spare moments in cultivating your mind, and drive out the evil spirit within you."

A day or two after, at the railroad station, he referred to our conversation.

"Brown, I have been thinking much of your advice."

"And you will follow it?"

"I will!"

He gave me his hand upon it. "Adieu! adieu! God bless you!" and I was away for Vienna.

[To be continued.]

[* Copied by permission.]

## A CHRISTIAN EPISTLE EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS OLD.

Christians are not distinguished from the rest of mankind either by their country, or by their language, or by their habits. For they do not dwell in cities of their own—they do not speak any strange dialect—they do not live in any peculiar manner. Nor, indeed, has this, their doctrine, been arrived at through the imagination and forethought of meddlesome men; nor do they put forward any mere human opinion, as some do. But, living in Greek or barbarian cities, as hath fallen to the lot of each, and following the habits of the country in dress and food, and the other modes of life, they present a marvellous and confessedly strange condition of their own polity. They dwell in their own fatherland, but as strangers. They take part in everything as citizens, and they have to bear everything as if they were foreigners. Every foreign country is their fatherland, and every fatherland is a foreign country to them. Like all the rest, they marry and beget children, but they do not cast off their children. They make their table common to all, but not their bed. They are in the flesh, but they do not live after the flesh. They pass their time on earth, but their citizenship is in heaven. They obey the established laws, and by their own lives gain a victory over the laws. They love all, and yet are persecuted by all. They are taken no notice of, and they are condemned; they are put to death, and they come to life again; they are poor themselves, and yet make many rich; they lack everything, and yet they abound in all things; they are put to shame, and yet they glory in their shame; they are evil spoken of, and yet they are justified; they are reviled, and they bless; they are insulted, and they show honour; they do good, and yet they are punished as evil-doers; they rejoice in punishment, as being thereby quickened. The Jews make war upon them as foreigners, and the Greeks persecute them; and yet they that hate them can give no reason for their enmity. In short, what the soul is in the body, the Christians are in the world. The soul is spread through all the members of the body, and so are Christians through all the cities of the world. Now, the soul liveth in the body, yet is she not of the body—and so do Christians live in the world, yet are not of the world. The invisible soul is preserved in a visible body, and so Christians are known to be in the world, but their religion remaineth unseen. The flesh hateth the soul, and warreth against her, without receiving any injury, for the soul preventeth her from indulging in pleasures; so the world, though in no way injured by them, hateth Christians, for they are opposed to pleasures. The soul loveth the flesh and its members that hate her, and so do Christians love those who hate them. The soul is shut in by the body, yet she upholdeth the body, and so are Christians kept, as it were in prison by the world, yet they uphold the world. The undying soul dwelleth in a mortal tabernacle, and so do Christians dwell by the side of that which is perishable, while they wait for immortality in heaven. The soul is made better the more she is maltreated by the withholding of food and drink; and Christians, the more they suffer punishment, the more do they from day to day increase. Such is the place which God hath assigned to them, and woe to them if they fly from it.—*Epistle Addressed to Diognetus, in the year 135, by an Unknown Writer, translated by Chevalier Bunsen.*

From The National Era.

## THE NEW EXODUS.*

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

By fire and cloud, across the desert sand,
And through the parted waves,
From their long bondage, with an out-stretched hand
God led the Hebrew slaves!

Dead as the letter of the Pentateuch
As Egypt's statutes cold,
In the adytum of the sacred book
Now stands that marvel old.

"Lo, God *is* great!" the simple Moslem says.
We seek the ancient date,
Turn the dry scroll, and make that living phrase
A dead one: "God *was* great!"

And, like the Coptic monks by Mousa's wells,
We dream of wonders past,
Vague as the tales the wandering Arab tells,
Each drowsier than the last.

O fools and blind! Above the Pyramids
Stretches once more that hand,
And trancéd Egypt, from her stony lids,
Flings back her veil of sand.

And morning-smitten Memnon, singing, wakes,
And, listening by his Nile,
O'er Ammon's grave and awful visage breaks
A sweet and human smile.

Not, as before, with hail and fire, and call
Of death for midnight graves,
But in the stillness of the noonday, fall
The fetters of the slaves.

No longer through the Red Sea, as of old,
The bondmen walk dry shod;
Through human hearts, by love of Him controlled,
Runs now that path of God!

* One of the latest and most interesting items of Eastern news is the statement that slavery has been formally and totally abolished in Egypt.

## BEGINNINGS OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

It was about the years 16[illegible] jobber" was first heard in Lo[ndon] [illegible] of four years a crowd of com[panies] [illegible] confidently held out to subscri[bers] [illegible] gains, sprang into existence; t[illegible] Paper Company, the Lutestring Company, the Pearl Fishery Company, the Glass Bottle Company, the Alum Company, the Blythe Coal Company, the Swordblade Company. There was a Tapestry Company, which would soon furnish pretty hangings for all the parlors of the middle class and for all the bedchambers of the higher. There was the Copper Company proposed to explore the mines of England, and held out a hope that they would prove not less valuable than those of Potosi. There was a Diving Company which undertook to bring up precious effects from shipwrecked vessels, and which announced that it had laid in a stock of wonderful machines resembling complete suits of armour. In front of the helmet was a huge glass eye like that of a cyclop; and out of the crest went a pipe through which the air was to be admitted. The whole process was exhibited on the Thames. Fine gentlemen and fine ladies were invited to the show, were hospitably regaled, and were delighted by seeing the divers in their panoply descend into the river and return laden with old iron and ship's tackle. There was a Greenland Fishing Company which could not fail to drive the Dutch whalers and herring busses out of the Northern Ocean. There was a Tanning Company which promised to furnish leather superior to the best that was brought from Turkey or Russia. There was a society which undertook the office of giving gentlemen a liberal education on low terms, and which assumed the sounding name of the Royal Academies Company. In a pompous advertisement it was announced that the directors of the Royal Academies Company had engaged the best masters in every branch of knowledge, and were about to issue twenty thousand tickets at twenty shillings each. There was to be a lottery; two thousand prizes were to be drawn; and the fortunate holders of the prizes were to be taught, at the charge of the company, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Spanish, conic sections, trigonometry, heraldry, japanning, fortification, bookkeeping, and the art of playing the theorbo. Some of these companies took large mansions and printed their advertisements in gilded letters. Others, less ostentatious, were content with ink, and met at coffee-houses in the neighborhood of the Royal Exchange. Jonathan's and Garraway's were in a constant ferment with brokers, buyers, sellers, meetings of directors, meetings of proprietors. Time bargains soon came into fashion. Extensive combinations were formed, and monstrous fables were circulated, for the purp[ose] [illegible] or depressing the price of shares. Our co[illegible] for the first time those phenomena with wh[ich] [illegible] perience has made us familiar. A manis[illegible] symptoms were essentially the same wi[th] [illegible] mania of 1721, of the mania of 1825, o[illegible] 1845, seized the public mind. An impati[illegible] a contempt for those slow but sure gain[s] [illegible] proper reward of industry, patience an[illegible] through society. The spirit of the co[illegible] Whitefriars took possession of the grave [illegible] City, Wardens of Trades, Deputies, Ald[ermen] [illegible] much easier and much more lucrative to [illegible] prospectus announcing a new stock, to p[illegible] people that the dividends could not fall [illegible] per cent., and to part with five thousand [illegible] imaginary wealth for ten thousand solid [illegible] load a ship with a well-chosen cargo for [illegible] Levant. Every day some new bubble was puffed into existence, rose buoyant, shone bright, burst, and was forgotten.

The new form which covetousness had taken furnished the comic poets and satirists with an excellent subject; nor was that subject the less welcome to them because some of the most unscrupulous and most successful of the new race of gamesters were men in sad-colored clothes and lank hair, men who called cards the Devil's books, men who thought it a sin and a scandal to win or lose twopence over a backgammon board. It was in the last drama of Shadwell that the hypocrisy and knavery of these speculators was, for the first time, exposed to public ridicule. He died in November, 1692, just before his *Stockjobbers* came on the stage; and the epilogue was spoken by an actor dressed in deep mourning. The best scene is that in which four or five stern Nonconformists, clad in the full Puritan costume, after discussing the prospects of the Mousetrap Company and the Fleakilling Company, examine the question whether the godly may lawfully hold stock in a company for bringing over Chinese rope-dancers. "Considerable men have shares," says one austere person in cropped hair and bands; "but verily, I question whether it be lawful or not." These doubts are removed by a stout old Roundhead colonel who had fought at Marston Moor, and who reminds his weaker brother that the saints need not themselves see the rope-dancing, and that, in all probability, there will be no rope-dancing to see. "The thing," he says, "is like to take: the shares will sell well; and then we shall not care whether the dancers come over or no." It is important to observe that this scene was exhibited and applauded before one farthing of the national debt had been contracted. So ill informed were the numerous writers who, at a later period, ascribed to the national debt the existence of stock-jobbing, and of all the immoralities connected with stock-jobbing. The truth is, that society had, in the natural course of its growth, reached a point at which it was inevitable that there should be stock-jobbing whether there was a national debt or not, and inevitable also that, if there were a long and costly war, there should be a national debt.—*Macaulay.*

## NAPOLEON'S HOUSE AT ST. HELENA.

The following is from a pamphlet just published at St. Helena:

"Immediately after Napoleon's death, Longwood became once more the East India Company's farm. The old house and buildings, sacred as they ought to have been, were ruthlessly turned into stables, pigsties, barns, cow-houses and muck yards. The paper was torn from the walls of his bedroom; the floor was replaced by a rough stone pavement; the window looking on the garden was blocked up; his cabinet and his bath-room were treated with the same 'due delicacy'; and then they made of the whole a poor stable for the Honourable Company's farm horses. They tore down the paper and the hangings, and ripped to pieces the room in which the great Napoleon had just breathed his last, and out of it they made unto themselves a miserable barn. . . . . As to the garden which Napoleon loved, they knocked down the turf walls, they pulled up the beautiful flowers, they pulled down the beautiful trees, and they paved the whole and drained it, built sheds upon it, and made out of it a proper stock-yard for the Honourable Company, their pigs, their poultry, and their horned beasts, which were the pride and the glory of the company's farm, and which were deemed the worthy occupants of a spot venerated by millions of men, and destined to be a shrine of pilgrimage for ages yet to come. . . . In the year 1833 the company's charter expired, and in 1836 the British Government took possession of the island. Longwood was immediately put up to public competition as a farm, and let to the highest bidder, and let in the miserable state in which it was handed over to them by the company, and no restriction was put upon the tenant, who naturally, under such circumstances, was led to look forward to a charge for admission to this old house as a source of considerable profit, and paid a higher rent to the Government accordingly. Herein we see the origin of the two shillings which every visitor is now forced to pay. Speaking of Prince de Joinville, the younger Bertrand says . 'Bientôt Longwood se presente à nos yeux triste et abandonnée! Les jardins dégradés, le salon ou il est mort devenu un moulin à moudre de l'orge; sa chambre à concher une écurie!! Quelle profanation! au tombeau c'etait de l'émotion, ici de la stupeur.'" ["Soon afterwards, Longwood presented itself to our sad eyes. The garden in weeds; the bed in which he died, a mill for grinding corn; his bedchamber a stable! What profanation! At the tomb we felt emotion—here, stupor!"]

## JOHN BURNYEAT, THE QUAKER MISSIONARY. 1664.*

John Burnyeat was a distinguished missionary and preacher of the Society of Friends, and spent some time in Rhode Island. "He received the truth in 1653, and died in the Lord in Ireland in 1690." Prefixed to his history is the testimony of George Fox, who states that Burnyeat "travelled and preached in Ireland, Scotland, Barbadoes, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, Long Island, Rhode Island, and up and down in New England, and had many disputes with many priests and professors that opposed the truth; but the Lord gave him dominion over all, to stop the mouths of the gainsayers, and he was a peace-maker." Fox accompanied him in his travels from Maryland "through the wilderness, and through many rivers and desperate bogs, where they said never Englishman nor horse had travelled before." They often lay out in the woods at night, and sometimes found shelter in Indian wigwams, and "many times were hard put to it for provisions." Following the several testimonies of Friends relative to Burnyeat is an account of his "convincement," and a journal of his travels.

It appears that John Burnyeat, like many other sinners of his time, "discovered the right path of life" through the preaching of George Fox. He labored several years in England, Scotland and Ireland, disputing with "the hireling priests that feed themselves and not the people." He seems to have been quite as zealous and fanatical as the most rigid of his sect at the time he lived, seeking every opportunity to dispute with the "priests in their *bell-houses*," showing less charity for all other Christian sects than the fanatics of our day do for the Romanists, Mormons and Mahommedans. The places of worship he invariably calls "bell-houses," "steeple-houses," or "worship-houses," and the clergy hirelings and priests. Twice he was thrown into prison in England; the first time he remained nearly six months, the second time three months. In 1664 he was moved by the spirit to come to America, and, embarking at Galloway, in Ireland, he reached Barbadoes in seven weeks, where he labored several months. He next went to Virginia, and visited Maryland and New York. At the latter place, in the [illegible] "took shipping for Rhode Island." He [illegible] f his visit here, except that "he spent some [illegible] g Friends and their meetings, and had a [illegible] ervice." From Rhode Island he went to [illegible] outh, Salem, and many other places, when [illegible] ned to Rhode Island, where he remained part of the winter. He next sailed for Barbadoes, which seems to have been an important field for the Friends, and after a few months' labours returned to England. In 1670 he again sailed for America, taking Barbadoes in the way, and in the following year was at the Yearly Meeting in Rhode Island. He seems to have visited the same places as on his first visit, various parts of New England, New York, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia, being accompanied in his Southern tour by Daniel Gould, of Rhode Island. In Maryland he was joined by George Fox, who had arrived from Jamaica, when they, with several other Friends, set out "through the woods, overland, for New England." They crossed the various rivers in canoes and swam their horses alongside. For days they met no Europeans, but generally found shelter in the Indian wigwams, though they were often compelled to lie in the woods. The Indians always treated them kindly and furnished them guides. After attending many meetings, they came to Rhode Island and waited for the Yearly Meeting, which lasted eight days, "settling affairs," and keeping things "sweet, clean and well." After this, he went to Salem, Boston, &c. George Fox, in the meanwhile, visited Long Island and the Jerseys. Afterwards, he says:

"John Stubbs and I went up to Providence, had a meeting, and, as we returned, we had a meeting at Warwick, where none had been before; and several were convinced and did own the truth. And there we had to do with one Gorton, and his company, who were by other people called Gortonians, but they call themselves Generalists. They were of opinion all should be saved; but they were in reality Ranters.

"So from thence we came down again to Rhode Island, and there we spent some time, and had a long dispute with one Roger Williams, that sent us a challenge from Providence, with fourteen propositions, as he called them, but they were charges; and he engaged to maintain them against all comers; the first seven to be disputed on at Rhode Island, and the latter seven at Providence. We spent three days with him at Rhode Island; but he could not make any proof of his charges to the satisfaction of the auditory, for there was a great congregation every day. There is a book, in manuscript, of what was taken in short hand of the discourse at that present; besides these is a book in print entitled *New England Fire Brand Quenched*, and which is an answer to a book of the said Roger Williams, which gives some relation of some part of the dispute, to which I refer the reader."

The narrative of Burnyeat is exceedingly uninteresting, as it is simply a record of the places he visited, of the meetings he attended, and of the disputes he had with "hireling priests," and those who worshipped in the "steeple-houses." For these useless controversies he seems to have had a great passion. His plan was to attend worship at the churches, and when the service was over, to rise and call upon the congregation to await and "hear a word of exhortation" from him. At Hartford he states that, desiring to speak, he went to the meeting-house, and stayed till the priest had done, "when he stood up and called to the people to hear."

"But immediately," he continues, "the Sexton came to me to interrupt me, but when he saw that he could not stop me, then he drove the people away. And when I saw the people, most of them gone, I stept down, and thought to have gone forth after them; but he got to the door, and shut the door to keep me in. I then went round an alley to get to a second door, but he got over the seats and shut that. Then I made for a third door; he also got to that before me and shut that, and so made their meeting-house a prison and kept us in, till the people was gone, and then let us forth."

The second part of this memorial is entitled "The Innocency of the Christian Quaker manifested; the truth of their principles and doctrine cleared and defended, from the loud but false clamours, base insinuations, and wicked slanders of James Barry," and contains many relations of the persecutions of the Quakers in New England.—*Cor. Providence Journal.*

*The Truth Exalted in the writing of that eminent and faithful servant of Christ, John Burnyeat; collected into this ensuing volume as a Memorial to his faithful labours in and for the truth. Small quarto, pp. 264. London: 1691.

## MIRABEAU.

From Bentley's Miscellany.

"No man," says Croly, "hated the rabble more; yet no man panegyrised them with more lavish adulation. No man cherished every prejudice of noble birth more; yet his whole profession of faith was a strenuous scorn of nobility." If these things, faith and practice, are contrary the one to the other, they are not quite so hard to reconcile as the antinomies of Kant. He became a popular agitator, as the only course open to his ambition, passions, exigencies for the time being. Friends and foes were all attent, and the bravest held their breath for a while, to watch

——this new Jehu spur the hot-mouthed horse,
Instruct the beast to know his native force,
To take the bit between his teeth, and fly
To the next headlong steep of anarchy.

*Dryden: The Medal.*

All France seemed watching, at the tribune, the every look and gesture of that stormy orator, through whose "shaggy beetle crows, and rough hewn, scarred, carbuncled face," as Carlyle limns it, there looked out "natural ugliness, small-pox, incontinence, bankruptcy—and burning fire of genius." His audiences felt, as a countryman of Carlyle's has said, that next to the power of a great good man, inspired by patriotism, genius and virtue, was that of a great bad man, overflowing with the furies, and addressing Pandemonium in its own Pandemonian speech. The same writer, referring to the custom of comparing Mirabeau with Sheridan and Fox, remarks, that while Fox was but one, and not the brightest, of a constellation, "the Frenchman walked his lurid heaven alone"; and that while Sheridan was a dexterous juggler, "playing a petty personal game with hoy bowls, Mirabeau trundled cannon balls along the quaking ground." Objections, of a captious kind, have been made against Mirabeau's oratory, as second-hand, borrowed, or "cribbed." What scruples as to copyright would you expect from one so

Prompt to assail, and careless of defence,
Invulnerable in his impudence?

*The Hind and the Panther.*

"He on many occasions," says Sir Samuel Romilly, "delivered in the National Assembly speeches as his own which had been composed for him by others; and so much confidence had he in the persons who thus contributed to establish his reputation, that he has sometimes, to my knowledge, read at the tribune of the Assembly speeches which he had not even cast his eyes on before, and which were as new to himself as to his admiring audience." "He was a great plagiarist," elsewhere observes Sir Samuel: adding, however, that it was from avarice, not poverty, that he appropriated to himself the views and the eloquence of others. Dumont gives the clue to some of his appropriated eloquence. But weight is due to the remark, that of all talents, the talent most distinctive of great men is the faculty of absorbing the thoughts, studies and labours of others into their own (not exactly in the sense of Mr. D'Israeli's absorption of M. Thiers, by the way), till they give them a new essence and power; not a new shape, but a new nature; and send forth the feeble, the various, the contradictory, and the inapplicable, condensed, and assimilated into force, singleness, and utility. It was not at the tribune only that Mirabeau was indebted to the preparations of others. The eight octavo volumes which he published on the Prussian Monarchy were entirely, Romilly says, as to everything but style, the work of M. de Mauvillon. "His tracts upon finance were Clavière's; the substance of his work on the Cincinnati was to be found in an American pamphlet; his pamphlet on the opening of the Scheldt was Benjamin Vaughan's; and I once saw him very eager to undertake a great work on geography, of which he was totally ignorant, in the expectation that M. de Rochette, a geographer of great merit, and with whom he had contracted great intimacy, would supply him with all the materials for it." He has neither part nor lot with those adherents to a self-supporting system, in the economy and ethics of authorship, who, by a Shakspearean figure, may be eulogized as

Making no summer of another's green,
Robbing no old to make their beauty new.

*Shakspeare's Sonnets*

# Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

Zaidee, the romance which has just been concluded in *Blackwood's Magazine*, and which many readers have attributed to Bulwer, is now published in England as the work of Margaret Oliphant.

——Within a radius of five miles around Sebastopol, it is supposed that more blood has been spilt, more lives sacrificed, and more misery inflicted, in a year, than in any other equal extent of the earth's surface, in the same time, since the days of Noah's flood.

——The *Athenæum* gives the following good fishing conundrum—"What fish may be said to be out of place?" To which the reply is: "A Perch in a bird's cage; a Skate in a cutler's shop; a Plaice on the top of an omnibus; a Sole at the bottom of your boot; Whiting cleaning plate; a Mussel in a lady's neck; and a Cockle making anti-bilious pills."

——In a new book on angling, Mr. Blakey says: "The Catholic church, which meddles with everything, meddled likewise with angling. It took it under its especial protection, to the exclusion of hunting, and other recreations of a violent and boisterous character. There is a standing Canon on the subject, which states that hunters have generally been great sinners, citing the example of Esau; whereas fishermen, by Scripture testimony, have usually been deemed holy and pious men."

——Roy's Wife of Aldivalloch.—The *Inverness Courier* states that a gentleman who has been examining the parish register in Cabrach, Banffshire, says he has lighted on the veritable Roy of Aldivalloch, and his once fickle wife, so famous in Scottish song. On the 21st February, 1727, John Roy, a lawful son to Thomas Roy in Aldivalloch, was married to Isabel, daughter of Alister Stewart, sometime resident in Cabrach. They had been previously "contracted" on the 28th of January. The Braes of Balloch are in the neighbourhood of Aldivalloch, and the song was written by a lady of the district.

——Christmas Weather Proverb.—The prognostication of the following weather proverb, current in Kent, is firmly believed:

Light Christmas, light wheatsheaf,
Dark Christmas, heavy wheatsheaf.

Meantime that, if there be a full moon, as it is this year, about Christmas Day, the next year will have a light harvest. A clerical friend, to whom we are indebted for this communication, adds, "Old W——, now cutting my wood, tells me when he got from church yesterday, he pondered deeply the text (not my text), 'Light Christmas, light wheatsheaf,' and wondered whether he should be able to fatten a pig, for he never knew the saying to fail, in sixty years' experience."—*Notes and Queries.*

——A Ripe Old Age.—The oldest journal in Holland, the *Haarlem Courant*, on the 8th ult. attained the respectable age of two hundred years. For upwards of one hundred years this journal has been uninterruptedly in the possession of the family of its present publishers, Johannes Enschede & Co. Its founder was Abraham Casteleyn, who issued the first number on the 8th of January, 1656, under the title, *Weeckelijke Courant van Europa* (*Weekly Courant of Europe*), which, however, he soon changed into *Haarlem Courant*. The subscribers to this sheet were presented, on its two hundredth birthday, with a fac-simile of its first number.

——The Ant that Fights Itself.—The insects, as I have often said, are countless; swarm everywhere and over everything. Their tenacity of life is most amazing. I have told you of the manner in which one-half of a bull-dog ant fights the other if cut in two. I saw an instance of it just now. Our giant cut one in two that was annoying him. The head immediately seized the body with its mandibles, and the body began stinging away manfully at the head. The fight went on for half an hour without any diminished sign of life; and this is what they always do. Instead of dying as they ought to do, they set and fight away for hours, if some of the other ants do not come and carry them away; whether to eat them or bury them we know not.—*Howitt's Australia.*

——The Emperor Napoleon has sent over to the Queen a very pretty Christmas gift. It is in the form of a Lady's Album, and the substance of it is an artistic Memorial of her Majesty's Visit to Paris. The drawings are in water colour, by the most renowned French masters. The Queen at Boulogne is by M. Morel Fatio, and the Departure from that port by M. Mozin. M. Chavet contributes two illustrations to the Royal Album—the Ball at Versailles and the Imperial Supper. The Queen's Arrival in Paris is drawn by M. Guerard. M. Eugene Lami illustrates the Arrival at St. Cloud. A few other drawings are by artists less known in England. The case which contains these treasures is got up in the most exquisite style, and with all the richness of ornamentation for which French design is renowned. The book, we believe, was produced for the Emperor at a cost of a thousand guineas.

——Lord Palmerston and Victor Hugo.—Dumas tells a suggestive anecdote *apropos* to Victor Hugo's expulsion from Jersey. The prolific novelist was seated one evening at a fashionable Parisian reunion, conversing with the author of Notre Dame and Hernani, when a friend brought him a polite message from Lord Palmerston, who was one of the guests, asking, as a special favour, that he would abandon his seat for a few moments for the one adjoining; Dumas assented, whereupon his lordship conducted Lady Palmerston to the vacant chair, and bade her note the hour. "It is exactly thirty-five minutes after ten," said her ladyship. "Well, my lady," responded Palmerston, "remember that on this day, at thirty-five minutes after ten P. M., you were seated between Victor Hugo and Alexander Dumas; it is such an honour as you have never enjoyed in your life." 'Twas a man to sit a moment beside whom was a memorable honour, by the tergiversation of political anomalies, who is, by the same voice, pronounced a vulgar genius, and little better than a brigand, and ignominiously hunted from the English soil!

——The Population of China.—We may with tolerable safety estimate the present population of the Chinese empire at between 350,000,000 and 400,000,000 of human beings. The constant flow of emigration from China, contrasted with the complete absence of immigration into China, is striking evidence of the redundancy of the population; for though that emigration is almost wholly confined to two provinces—namely, Kwangtung and Fookien—representing together a population of probably from 34,000,000 to 35,000,000, I am disposed to think that a number nearer 3,000,000 than 2,000,000 from these provinces alone is located in foreign countries. In the kingdom of Siam, it is estimated that there are at least 1,500,000 Chinese, of which 200,000 are in the capital (Bankok). They crowd all the islands of the Indian Archipelago. In Java, we know by a correct census, there are 136,000. Cochin China teems with Chinese. In this colony we are seldom without one, two, or three vessels taking Chinese emigrants to California and other places. Multitudes go to Australia, to the Philippines, to the Sandwich Islands, to the western coast of Central and South America; some have made their way to British India. The emigration to the British West Indies has been considerable—to the Havannah greater still. The annual arrivals in Singapore are estimated at an average of 10,000, and 2,000 is the number that are said annually to return to China.—*Sir John Bowring.*

——State Patronage of Letters.—A munificent pension has recently been bestowed by her Most Gracious Majesty upon Mr. Joseph Haydn, the laborious compiler of the well-known *Dictionary of Dates.* A munificent pension of—ahem!—how much? Can any one guess? Actually a pension of—£25 a year! Otherwise, a reward of—£2 1s. 8d. a-month! or, 9s. 7d. a week! or, just 1s. 4 1-2d. a day! A reward for—what? For the work of a shoeblack? For journeyman tailoring? For sweeping the the staircase of Buckingham Palace, or weeding the gardens of Osborne, or rolling the gravel walks of Balmoral? Nothing of the sort. Instead of this, for long years of intellectual labour—years consumed, first of all, in the accumulation and the diffusion of valuable knowledge! A reward of £25 a year, or £2 1s. 7d. a month, or 9s. 7d. a week, or, as we have said, just 1s. 4 1-2d. a day, for ingenious and laborious research among the treasures of chronology—for sedulous, and earnest, and devoted application to the interests of literature—for very appreciable though not easily calculable service to the cause of popular instruction, the great and good cause of national education, abandoned for the most part to the spontaneous self-sacrifices of such men as Mr. Haydn by the negligence, or incompetence, or procrastination of the Imperial Government! A pension of £25 a year for this! Why, a scullion in the Queen's kitchen might look for a reward equivalent in value, after growing old among the kettles and pans of Windsor!—*London Sun.*

——Scotch Agriculture.—Mr. Hall Maxwell has published an important letter on this subject. If we may judge from the results of the Scottish statistics, returns will explode our present ideas, in the most inglorious manner. The readers of that celebrated third chapter of Mr. Macaulay's "History" will remember the calculations to which he refers in estimating the population of London. It was confidently asserted by some that during the 35 years which elapsed between the accession of Charles I. and the Restoration the population of the city had increased by 2,000,000! It was asserted with equal confidence by others that the population of the three kingdoms together did not make up that amount. Somewhat like this wild enumeration, it seems, has been our idea as to the extent of agricultural production in Scotland. The tables of Mr. Hall Maxwell demonstrate the amazing fact that the agricultural produce of Scotland is not one-half what we supposed it to be. The produce of wheat for the present year is 633,000 quarters; the estimate of M'Culloch is nearly double that. The actual produce of all cereals for the present year is about five millions and a quarter; the estimate of M'Culloch is about nine and a half. Who is not anxious to know whether the statistics of English agriculture, which we accept implicitly and argue about so positively, are equally erroneous?

——Development of the Lungs.—Much has been said and written upon diet, eating and drinking; but I do not recollect ever noticing a remark in any writer upon breathing or the manner of breathing. Multitudes, and especially ladies in easy circumstances, contract a destructive mode of breathing. They suppress their breathing, and contract the habit of short quick breathing, not carrying half-way down the chest, and scarcely expanding the lower portions of the chest at all. Lacing the bottom of the chest greatly increases this evil, and confirms a bad habit of breathing. Children that move about a good deal in the open air, and are in no way laced, breathe deep and full to the chest, and every part of it. So also with most out-door labourers and persons who take a great deal of exercise in the open air, [illegible] the lungs give us the power of action; and the [illegible] exercise we take, especially out of doors, the lar[ger the] lungs become, and the less liable to disease. In [occu]pations that require standing, keep the body st[raight.] [I]f at a table, let it be high and raised up nearly to [the] pits, so as not to require you to stoop; you will [find] employment much easier, not one-half so fa[tiguing,] whilst the form of the chest and symmetry of [the body] will remain perfect. You have noticed the fa[ct that] vast many tall ladies stoop, whilst a great ma[ny short] ones are straight. This arises, I think, from the [chairs] which they sit to work or study being their [illegible] height—far too low for a tall person, and about [right for] a short person. This should be carefully cor[rected or] regarded, so that each lady may occupy herself at [a table] suited to her height, and thus prevent the possib[ility of] the necessity of stooping.—*Dr. Fitch.*


# Philadelphia Advertisements.

WILLIAM BIRNEY, ATTORNEY AT [LAW], 18 South Third street, Philadelphia.

ELIZA L. S. THOMAS, M.D., PRACTICING PHYSICIAN, No. 119 North Seventh street, between Wood and Callow[hill], Philadelphia, Pa.

NEW BOARDING HOUSE—Respectable per[sons can] be accommodated with genteel transient or permanent [board] by applying to the subscriber, No. 374 South street, be[low] [illegible] Philadelphia.

THEODORE PARKER'S WORKS.—Just recei[ved] for sale at Anti-Slavery Office, Philadelphia— PARKER'S ADDITIONAL SPEECHES. 2 vols. PARKER'S DISCOURSE OF RELIGION. 1 vol. Also, Portraits, large and elegant, of Parker, Phillips, S[illegible] William Lloyd Garrison.

CARRIAGE REPOSITORY.—The subscriber [informs] the public that he has opened his new Carriage Rep[ository] 156 Race street, below Fifth, where he intends to keep an [assortment] of new and second-hand Carriages for sale or exchange. Carriages made to order on moderate terms. Carriages [taken on com]mission. Carriages neatly repaired. GEO. DODD, Phila[delphia].

CHARLES C. JACKSON, Tailor, 201 Arch street, [above] Sixth street, Philadelphia, would respectfu[lly invite the] attention of his friends and the public to his esta[blishment], a constant assortment of Cloths, Cassimeres, Vest[ings, of the] best quality, will be kept ready to make up to [order in a superior] manner and on the most accommodating terms.

MERRIHEW & THOMPSON, Printers, [removed] to Nos. 2 and 4 Merchant street, above Fourth [street, (below] Market), Phila. Plain and fancy Jobbing, such as B[ills, Circu]lars, Cards, Handbills, Apothecaries' Labels, &c. &c., and Bo[ok and] Pamphlet work, neatly and promptly executed. Special attention given to the printing of Periodicals.

PHRENOLOGICAL CABINET.—Fowlers, Wells [& Co.,] Phrenologists and Publishers, 231 Arch street, below S[eventh,] Philadelphia, furnish all works on Phrenology, Physiology, [Water] Cure, Magnetism and Phonography, wholesale and retail, [at New] York prices. Professional examinations, with charts, and full writ[ten descrip]tions of character, day and evening. Cabinet free.

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